ISSN 1598-0685

비교문화연구

Cross-Cultural Studies

Vol. 36

September 2014
Center for Cross-Cultural Studies
Kyung Hee University

＊ 이 학술지는 2013년도 정부재원(교육과학기술부 학술연구조성사업비)으로 한국연구재단의 지원을 받아 출판되었음.

Cross-Cultural Studies

Vol. 36 September 2014

❑ Articles

〈Culture · Literature〉

〈Language · Education〉

Strategic use of social media IDs: critical perspectives on identity and interaction

Snobra Rizwan
(University of Graz, Austria)

ABSTRACT

This study attempts to give a review of social media users' choice of a particular name for the sake of signaling identity cues and interaction with the others. The social media names could be classified into different categories such as traditional/cultural anthroponyms, nicknames and fictitious IDs etc. Out of these categories, it is the phenomenon of choice and construction of fictitious social media IDs by Pakistani social media users which has been reviewed and scrutinized in this particular article. This study examined fictitious IDs of Pakistani social media users from Critical Discourse Analysis and System Functional Linguistics perspectives and demonstrates how nationalistic, ethnic and religious identities are negotiated, constructed, deconstructed and reconstructed by the social media users through a particular ID choice.

Key Words
Discourse, anthroponyms, onomastic tradition, Pakistani social media IDs, Identity, lexico-grammatical features

1. Introduction

This article seeks to explore ideational and interpersonal metafunctions of Pakistani social media IDs and investigates how Pakistani social media users create signs in form of IDs and ascribe meaning to linguistic and cultural representations at both collective and individual levels. Building on the assumptions that choice of an ID on social media is an interactive act and that interpersonal and relational paradigms are always framed through personal identity clues, this section of the dissertation makes an attempt to discuss both syntactically and critically, the frameworks and ramifications of names and naming on Pakistani social media Websites. Considering the ID selection process as an act of identity assertion, the social media users take IDs as a means to signal a particular ideological stance, mainstream narrative or a counter-narrative standpoint. Thus, it could be assumed that there are certain hegemonic constructions and power relations embedded in Pakistani social media IDs text which need to be addressed and assessed.

A majority of Pakistani social media users choose traditional anthroponyms as social media IDs which are generally well-known in a pre-dominant Muslim society like Pakistan. Pakistani Muslims usually prefer names which have a semantic content but the use of nicknames as a system of address (which may not have a semantic content) is also quite popular with Pakistanis. As far as social media IDs are concerned, the majority of them do have some semantic content and are in form of descriptive phrases or clauses either in Urdu, English or a hybrid code. Whatever the language, social media IDs have a descriptive backing as they contain certain "associations to help individuate or to locate an individual in a social and cultural world" (Blount 139). It would be pertinent to mention Anderson in this connection who did a remarkable work on the grammar of names. In his seminal work, he gives a systematic account

of the syntax and semantics of names. Drawing on work in onomastics, philosophy, and linguistics, his work provides sub-categorization of names within a framework of syntactic categories. Furthermore, it attempts to connect the morpho-syntactic structure of the names to their semantic roles. Following such tradition of studying names and naming, this study attempts a systemic functional account of Pakistani social media IDs conventions. It must be mentioned at the outset that social media users either use traditional anthroponyms of their particular religio-sociocultural background or they create a fictitious ID in the form of a phrase or a clause. These are fictitious IDs which have been focused in this article for in-depth study and analysis. The reason for focusing on fictitious IDs is that the real/traditional names or anthroponyms used by social media users as IDs are generally with neutral polarity. These are the names which have not been selected or created by the users themselves, because real names are given to humans at the time of their birth. Though real names indicate personal identities of individuals—their ethnicity, national and religious background—but still individuals do not choose or create their names themselves. So, real anthroponyms sometimes are not a dependable indicator of a person's ideological beliefs. Contrarily, fictitious IDs on the social media are created by the individuals consciously and deliberately. Fictitious IDs reveal ideological and cognitive processes working behind individuals' religio-socio-cultural, historical and political phenomena perception. Because of such multi-facetedness of fictitious IDs, this study does not follow Anderson in bringing forth the morpho-syntactic framework of Pakistani real names or traditional anthroponyms.

The analysis in different sub-sections of this article on the following pages sketches the projected ideological and identity position of Pakistani Web-users via their linguistic choices. Furthermore, it makes an attempt to connect the IDs with the macro-propositions of the comments posted by the commenters under certain IDs. Through this, the choice of IDs

as a discursive strategyy and as a strategy of control is analysed.

2. Sociopolitical context of the study

As this study deals with Pakistani social media IDs, it is pertinent to give a brief detail of the sociopolitical context these IDs emerge from. Pakistan has been characterized by a lack of policy continuity and weak implementation of reforms since its birth in 1947. There has always been unrest in its different provinces like KP and Balochistan which keeps the citizens unsettled and frustrated. Federal Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) at the western border of the country had been plagued with terrorism, bad governance and lawlessness since decades. As the country was created in the name of religion in 1947 so the official name of the country is Islamic Republic of Pakistan. Ever since the country was created, the religion and literal translation of scripture has been (mis)used to control the minds of the masses and resolve certain political, constitutional and social conflicts. Issues like poverty, limited resources, political instability, bad governance and military interventions have always kept the country under pressure, diverting attention from institutional reform to matters of an ad hoc nature. Government, be it democratic or military dictatorship—the country has witnessed four military dictatorships so far which during its sixty eight years of existence—generally does not deliver basic services effectively for which resources are already insufficient. Major urban centers in Pakistan like Karachi, Rawalpindi and Islamabad have witnessed civilian causalities due to terrorist attacks in last few years. The Pakistan Army has carried out successful counter-militancy operations in the north-western parts of the country and is still busy in a major crackdown against the terrorists in North Waziristan. However, the cost of this has been high and Pakistan has seen millions of conflict-affected internally displaced persons (IDPs). In addition to these, natural disasters like floods and droughts

also afflict the country quite frequently and government always proves out to be inefficient in managing such calamities. This results in mass migration from the affected areas to the urban areas and loss of human life and livestock. During crisis situation like these, thousands of people lose their houses, food and resources and are forced to live in camps. Such circumstances have brought about an aggression and disappointment in the people of Pakistan and this aggression and disappointment is very much evident in social media comments discourse and ID choices. Thus people come up with IDs like *Do Chor* [meaning two thieves which refer to two supposedly corrupt politicians of Pakistan] and *ZAANI KHAN* [meaning the adulterer Khan which is meant to insult a politician of Pakistan]. As the Websites making representative sample for the study (i.e. zemtv.com, awaztoday.com, dawn.com) either contain political talk shows of Pakistani TV channels or newspaper articles and news, this kind of IDs targeting political leaders make pretty much sense.

3. Multidimensional values of Pakistani social media ID choices: a Faircloughian perspective

The ID choices made by Pakistani social media users are either in form of phrases or clauses. The phrases are realized either as single lexemes or nominal groups or prepositional phrases (using Hallidayian terms) (Halliday, Halliday & Mattheissen). Furthermore, the phrases could be classified as Muslim names, Urdu phrases, English phrases or a hybrid English-Urdu phrases. These names choices could be analyzed appropriately following Fairclough's proposed set of formal features of discourse; namely *experiential, relational* and *expressive*. It is assumed that outlining these features would take the analysis further by elaborating the context of name choices and users' motivations for opting for these names (110-111).

The definitions of given three notions above; *experiential, relational* and *expressive*, are of great importance to the understanding of the framework. By looking at experiential values CDA attempts to show how 'the text producer's experience of the natural or social world' (Fairclough 110-111) effects and is shown in a text. Social media users' supposed worldview, ideology and mental modal can be identified by assessing formal features of their discourse paradigm with experiential value. Relational values may identify the perceived interaction or social relationship between the text producers and its recipients which include both readers and fellow commenters or alternative text producers. The third dimension, expressive value, provides an insight into 'the text producer's evaluation (in the widest sense) of the bit of the reality it relates to' (Fairclough 110-111). Through this dimension, both text producers and recipients make an identification of the text's social identities.

4. Rationale for the study

The following analysis on Pakistani social media users' choice of their IDs is quite significant as it is based on the assumption that the trends regarding ID choice are not limited to Pakistan but are more or less universal and uniform.

The study has chosen the comments in the three Websites (zemtv, awaztoday, and dawn) mainly because of greater frequency of occurrence of comments on these Websites. The greater frequency of occurrence invariably leads one to infer that these Websites are visited by more Pakistani web-users as compared to the rest. Many Websites were visited for study of comments and users' ID in this research which include: www.pakistantv.tv, www.ultatv.com, www.getpakistan.tv, www.thenews.com.pk, www.Jang.com.pk etc. Out of these, the selected Websites (i.e. zemtv,

awaztoday, and dawn) seem to be the most popular and the popularity was gauged—as stated earlier—by the number of comments posted on these Websites. The greater number of comments posted and large number of users visiting these IDs make these Websites representative of Pakistani social media. Moreover, the nature of comments and users' IDs on more popular social media Websites like Facebook and Twitter seem to be different from these Websites because on these Websites the users are not supposed to reveal their identity openly and could either choose whatever fictitious ID they like or post the comments anonymously expressing their ideological stance without any inhibition. This is one of the trends which make these Websites ideologically significant.

The findings on the following pages would reveal that the zemtv website users adopt fictitious names more than the rest. The reason for this could be that zemtv Website administration was not moderating and deleting the offensive comments posted on its discussion threads strictly some two months ago. It was in July-August 2014 that the administrators decided to get a little stricter and take care of offensive and insulting language posted on its discussion threads. After this, the nature of comments and IDs on zemtv.com showed a remarkable difference. The comments' language became less offensive, and the frequency of fictitious IDs lowered. This trend still continues and could be observed on latest pages of the Website.

5. The construction of social media IDs corpus

The corpus are made up of users IDs from comment section of Pakistani political talk show websites (www.zemtv.com & www.awaztv.com) and one of Pakistan's leading English newspaper website (www.dawn.com). The user IDs and comments from December 1, 2013 to March 10, 2014

were scrutinized to draw the data. A total of twenty (20) TV talk shows and sixty (60) newspaper articles and blogs containing eighteen hundred (1800) IDs and comments on Pakistan's political scenario were analyzed. As this article focuses on the ID choices made by the users, only IDs were focused for in depth analysis and scrutiny. For this purpose, Fairclough's dimensions or stages of discourse analysis, description, interpretation and explanation have been taken into consideration. At the linguistic level—the level of critical identification of ID choices—the linguistic representations of those IDs (or user names) have been regarded significant and singled out which "cause semantic tension or incongruity as a result of a shift in the use of a word or phrase from its original context or domain of use to another context where it is not expected to occur" (Ezefeika 181). These transferences could be multipurpose in intention. The supposed intentions could be interactional or interpersonal: ideology assertion, propagation and dissemination or (de)personalization of self for the sake of alternative identity construction. Following these criteria, it could be assumed that the linguistic representations of fictitious IDs have been personalized and de-conventionalized by social media users. Because of such strategies on their part, the linguistic choices made by the social media users/commenters exhibit semantic depth. The cognitive criterion enables the interpretation of social media users' mental model inherently working behind the ID choices and the ontological association between them and their peers. Thus, an attempt has been made to resolve the incongruity or the sematic shift in naming strategies by postulating underlying intentions, purposes and aggression. Finally, in the pragmatic dimension, it is assumed that the rhetorical, emotive and persuasive potentials of the ID choices could be revealed. The positive or negative evaluations implicit in ID choices with respect to political and ideological issues in question make up the core of this article.

6. Classification scheme: fictitious vs. traditional anthroponyms

As Fairclough asserts, a classification scheme is “a particular way of dividing up some aspect of reality which is built upon a particular ideological representation of that reality” (115). The verbal text of Pakistani social media users exhibits a dual classification scheme that seems to map opposing values. For ease of discussion, these opposing schemes could be termed as fictitious IDs vs. traditional anthroponyms. Table 1 indicates the name or ID choices made by social media users to index above mentioned opposing realities. As table indicates some IDs have been placed in the middle column, because these can arguably be said not to fit into either of the binary classification columns. These IDs are ambiguous: it is not clear/ obvious whether they are fictitious/sarcastic names or the real/traditional ones. This issue aside, however, the fictitious and traditional name contrast shows the following. On the one hand, there is a distinct effort to retain the label of truthfulness and honesty as signalled by making traditional or full names ID choices. The traditional name IDs make the message recipients consciously recall text producers’ ethnic/national background. On this point, it could be surmised that ID choices remain in tune with Pakistani social media users’ comments which show obvious religio-cultual indoctrination (see Table 4). On the other hand, there is a conscious or obvious effort on the part of social media users with fictitious IDs to expose their ideological make up and create presupposition in the message recipients about the content of their message. The echoes of ideological underpinning could be experienced from the following ID in the form a nominal phrase: ‘*Dil Dil* Pakistan’. This ID implies ‘Pakistan is my heart’ thus expressing nationalism and patriotism. Then there are some other IDs in the form of whole hybrid bilingual clauses like ‘Eliminate *Khwarijis*’, where *Khawarijis* implies banned militant organization *Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan*.

The Pakistani social media users hence express their divided up identities in multiple ways depending upon the kind of comments they are making and the way they prefer to project themselves in front of text recipients. The underlying ideological motivation seems to stem from a multivalent desire to project a coherent and sound identity and overcome their identity crisis. This results in a somewhat schizophrenic mentality that is manifested in multiple ways, most prominently in the form of aggressive or combatant speech. The constant debate about what makes a good Muslim and a good Pakistani and what constitutes a national identity are, it is argued, the consequence of multiple opposing tensions operating in collective Pakistani psyche. In today's Pakistan, there are multiple yet ambiguous facets of religious and national identity and so are the people who try to come up to certain standards they have set for themselves. This tension, ambiguity and lack of clarity are very much obvious in the ID choices which social media users make on social media discussion forums.

Table 1: Classification Schemes: Actual anthroponyms vs. fictitious IDs

Actual anthroponyms	**Ambiguous and ambivalent IDs**	**Fictitious IDs**
Sajid Nadeem	*Pheena* (small or short nosed man)	*Jibreel Farishta* (Gabriel, the angel)
Haseen Abbas Madani	*Ghul* (noise)	Avatar
J Shahid	*Zuta* (Meaningless ID)	Taliban Khan
Y Khan	*Shirjan* (Meaningless ID)	Neo
Hamid Muhammad	*Moolana* (the Muslim scholar)	*Buzdil* Army (the coward Army)
Salman	Jabir *Bhai* Dubai (Jabir brother Dubai)	Dawood Ibrahime Dxb
Zahid		TTpeE
		Zalmay (Cruel men)
		Dil Dil Pakistan (Pakistan is my heart.)
		Gumnam (Nameless)
		Eliminate *Khawarjis* (Eliminate Taliban.)

7. Corpus: Identification of fictitious anthroponyms on the Pakistani social media web-sites

Some 1800 comments from the above- mentioned websites (www.zemtv.com, www.awaztoday.tv, and www.dawn.com) were analysed for the identification of variety of anthroponyms and IDs they carried. Out of these 1800 IDs, 1000 IDs were randomly selected from Zemtv website because the frequency of posted comments on zemtv website is much greater than the other two. Out of these 1000 IDs, 32% (N=319) fall under the category of fictitious IDs; 41% (N=409) fell under the category of traditional anthroponyms and rest of 27% (N=272) comprised of ambiguous or ambivalent IDs. Almost 500 IDs were randomly selected from awaztoday.tv website. Out of these 500 IDs, 95% (N=473) fall under the category of real anthroponyms, 01% (N=07) fall under the category of ambiguous or ambivalent IDs and rest of 04% (N=20) comprises of fictitious IDs. Similar results were obtained from Dawn newspaper website where the ratio of IDs categorization (out of 300 IDs) went as following: traditional anthroponyms: 90% (N=272), ambiguous and ambivalent IDs 03% (N=09) and fictitious IDs 07% (N=19). Some of the fictitious IDs identified in the Pakistani social media web-sites are enlisted in Table 2 below.

An in-depth analysis of lexicogrammatical structure (Halliday, Halliday &Mattheissen, Eggins) of fictitious IDs reveal that they could be categorized into clauses and phrases/groups with some further sub-classification. Most of the phrases making up fictitious IDs are noun phrases (90%, N=403). Occasionally, a prepositional phrase also happens to occur as a fictitious ID (2%, N=09). Furthermore, the data indicate that IDs in form of a clause occur rarely (06%, N=27). When they do occur in form of a clause, it is imperative clause which is preferred (05%, N=19) by the social-media users. Through imperative clauses social media users implicitly command

and order other users, thus expressing their anger and giving vent to their aggression.

After imperative clauses, relational clauses (01%, N=03) also appear now and then. Through behavioural clauses, the social media users negotiate the identity of some participant with text recipients.

Finally, it is pertinent to mention here that there emerged another type or class of social media IDs randomly selected by Pakistani commenters which does not fall into any of the above-mentioned category. This category include exclamatives (*ha ha ha* or *he he he*), emoticons (:-/, ☺), symbols or alphabets (.), A to Z) and email ids (See Table 3). As this category, presumably, is difficult to analyse using selected theoretical framework (i.e. Critical Discourse Analysis and Systemic Functional Linguistics) so has been left out and not considered for detailed explanation, elaboration and discussion in the following sections of the article.

Table 2: Some of the Fictitious IDs

Sr. #	Date/Thread/website	Fictitious IDs	Literal Translation
1	12-03-2014/When Killers become patriot/dawn	Kalash Wala	A man from Kalash
2	12-03-2014/Why I won't be cheering for Afridi anymore/dawn	Last island	
3	16-02-2014/Apas ki baat/awaztoday	Politics is BUSINESS IN PAKISTAN	
4	27-01-2014/On the front/awaztoday	./	
5	16-01-2014/Capital Talk/awaztoday	INDIA	
6	11-03-2014/Newseye/zemtv	himmatwala	A courageous man
7	25-01-2014/Jirga/zemtv	EASY LOAD	
8	28-02-2014/Apas ki baat/zemtv	SindhSultan	The Sultan of Sindh
9	10-03-2014/Kharra sach/zemtv	2 CHOOR	Two Thieves
10	03-03-2014/Off the record/zemtv	WhiteLion	

Table 3: Corpus

Total IDs studied		**1800**	
IDs from Zemtv.com		1000	
	Traditional anthroponyms	319	32%
	Ambiguous/ambivalent IDs	272	27%
	Fictitious IDs	409	41%
IDs from Awaztoday.com		500	
	Traditional anthroponyms	473	95%
	Ambiguous/ ambivalent IDs	7	1%
	Fictitious IDs	20	4%
IDs from Dawn.com		300	
	Traditional anthroponyms	272	90%
	Ambiguous/ ambivalent IDs	09	3%
	Fictitious IDs	19	7%
Total Fictitious IDs		409+20+ 19 = 448	
Noun Phrases		403	90%
Prepositional Phrases		09	2%
Clauses		27	6%
	Imperative clauses	23	5%
	Relational clauses	04	1%
Symbols and exclamatives etc.		18	

Table 4: Fictitious IDs in sync with comments' themes

IDs	**Comment posted**	**Date/ Thread**
nabi pak ka gulam **(Holy Prophet's slave)**	Greetings Sir Zaid Hamid. It is pity that whole Pakistan is ready to destroy itself nowadays. These are the times when we call a liar truthful and declare truthful a liar. Keep saying this and die a painful death. Pakistanis deserve this.	March 7, 2014 /*Debate with Zaid Hamid* comments thread

	The time is near when you would be the worst nation on this earth to Holy Allah. O Pakistanis, Holy Allah does not send people like Zaid Hamid again. Otherwise you would be annihilated.	
PADRI and JAFFRI (The Priest and the Shia)	If some one knows , How many Pakistanis are Killed By MQM and Altaf Hussain Jaffri since 1985… Why this Shia and Qadiani Media donot talk about these People Killed by MQM ??????? Why Pakistani Shia and Qadiani Establishments donot talk about these people Killed by MQM ??????	March 7, 2014 /*Debate with Zaid Hamid* comments thread

8. Lexicogrammatical classification of Pakistani Social Media Users' IDs

In the discussion that follows, lexicogrammatical categories of social media IDs from different comments threads have been presented. Along with categorization, an attempt has been made to interpret the ID choice with a certain grammatical form in relation to the comment posted by that particular user. Fairclough's categories of discourse analysis (Description, interpretation and explanation) proved out to be very beneficial in this regard.

A. Noun Phrases as social media IDs

Tables 1, 2 and 4 above show many noun phrases used by social media users as IDs. Though same IDs and subsequent comments could have been used for analysis in this section but it has been preferred that the IDs other than those shown in the above-given tables should be discussed in this section. As the IDs corpus compiled for this section is quite extensive, it is assumed that using a variety of IDs would yield more insightful and diversified results.

IDs and Comments: Noun phrases as social media IDs (see F. Id 1 to F. Id 5)

(F. Id 1.) DREAM TEAM

Dream	Team
Pre-modifier	Head
Noun as an epithet	Noun

Here 'F. Id' stands for 'fictitious ID' and 1 is sequence number assigned to the posted comment and ID for the sake of discussion on the subsequent pages. The comment posted by DREAM TEAM is bilingual. The translation and interpretation of Urdu words has been given in brackets. Same has been done with the comments on the following pages.

Comment posted by DREAM TEAM:

> _"DREAM TEAM FOR PAKISTAN .
> Next Prime Minister of Pakistan................ Veena Malik Khan. (Jamela Disco *Wali*) [Jamela, the disco lady implying dancing girl or whore)
> President ....*Sheda Telley Marasi*. (Sheda Telley, the low caste musician implying a politician Shaikh Rasheed who has been degraded with derogatory nick name and by designating a derogatory profession)
> Culter Minsiter for Film industry..................Imran Khan GoldSmith Seta White (The politician has been insulted by linking him up with his ex-wife who is a Jew, and with his ex-girlfriend who was mother of his illegitimate daughter)
> Defence Minister...Mushraf Comando.
> ...*Qadiani. Marzia* (Supposed Qadiani sect of Musharraf being targeted)
> Alcholic and Drug Minister ....*Alltaf Kali Mata* (Altaf the black goddess) ... Syed Altaf Hussain Jaffri... *Irani Matam Wala* (One who beats his chest. Shia sect of Altaf Hussain being targeted) …
> (*Aapas ki baat*, February 28, 2014: zemtv.com)

(F. Id. 2.) Free Sindh

Free	Sindh
Pre-modifier	Head
Epithet	Noun

Comment posted by Free Sindh:

Fuk taliban fuk fukistan army all these pakhtoon and punjabies (Two of Pakistani ethnic groups) are terrorists fuk all of them and fuk their so called shariah. Free Sindh and Balochistan, Fukistan is a failed and a terrorists state. Jiye Sindh (*Capital Talk*, March 5, 2014: zemtv.com)

(F. Id. 3) *jagga jallaad*
(Jagga, the executioner)

Jagga	Jallad (The executioner)
Head	post-modifier
Noun	Noun as an epithet

Comment posted by *jagga jallad:*

Nawaz (The Prime Minister of Pakistan, Nawaz Sharif) *gunja* (baldy) is full of shit and making fool of nation.he telling nation cock and bull story. he is very *conning* (cunning) and he keeping media and nation busy in Musharraf case and now peace talks with taliban. he knows he has no time to *waist* (waste) and he hurriedly selling national assets to his relatives and putting money in his secret big pockets…(*Jirga*, February 8, 2014: zemtv.com)

(F. Id. 4) Punjabi

Punjabi
Head
Noun

Comment posted by Punjabi:

> *kia punjab ka koi eak thana be essa ha, jehaan begare rashwat ke percha daraj hotta ha.......????* (Is there a single police station in Punjab where one can lodge complaint without bribe?) *kia police ab awam se reshwat ne lete...........??????????????* (Does Police not accept the bribe from the public?) *kia nawaz sharif ore shebaz sharif ne elections main hamesha ke tara dhnadhli ne ke......???????* [Have Nawaz Sharif and Shehbaz Sharif not rigged the polls like (they) always (do)?]... (*Kal Tak*, January , 272014: awaztoday)

(F. Id. 5) *Azad Khayal*

(Free Thought, implying a free thinker or a liberal)

Azad (free)	Khayal (thought)
Pre-modifier	Head
Epithet	Noun

Comment posted by *Azad Khayal:*

> As a young child I was told that "Islam is the last message and it's good for all times". What I understood from that was that there are general guiding principals that you can probably say are not dependant on time. But some people seem to get totally the wrong end of the stick. I wonder how they justify using all the amenities of the modern world. (Pakistani law prohibiting underage marriage un-Islamic, March 11, 2014: dawn)

Discussion: Noun Phrases as social media IDs (based on F. Id 1 to F. Id 2)

Texts F. Id. 1 to F. Id. 5 illustrate the conceptual schema of Pakistani general public implying that Pakistani leadership does not exhibit good governance which should be based on “the exercise of political, economic and administrative authority to manage a nation’s affair” (Agere 02). All

five IDs above represent the gist or essence of the respective comments of the commenters. The first ID 'DREAM TEAM' reflects sarcasm. Through this sarcastic ID and comment the commenter presents the worst possible scenario (in his/her conception) for administrative and executive positions of the country. The commenter's intolerance for musicians, dancers, Shias, Qadianis, Jews and adultery is quite obvious. The selected ID, DREAM TEAM, actually reflects commenter's aggression and unacceptability for pluralism and multiculturalism and multi-ethnicism. The second, third and fourth IDs are nationalistic where the commenters express concerns for sad state of affairs in the country and express their dissatisfaction with the government's performance. The element of aggression and anger is once again very much obvious in these three textual instances. The last comment is comparatively moderate where the commenter 'Azad Khayal' expresses his/her dissatisfaction with religious scholars' particular and supposedly biased interpretations of religious credos.

In all the noun phrases above, the heads (team, Sindh, jagga, khayal, Punjabi) seem to be neutral with no apparent polarity or value judgement attached. The social media users have made use of pre-modifiers (dream, azad, free) and post-modifiers (the executioner) very tactfully which encode the desired effect and identity clues in their respective IDs. Thus through the critical evaluation and interpretation of their respective IDs, the above-mentioned social media commenters could be identified as follows (see Table 5):

Table 5: IDs and identification

IDs	Assumed Identities
Dream Team	A Pakistani Sunni Muslim who is unhappy with the current leadership of the country
Free Sindh	A Sindhi nationalist who wishes to see Sindh province of Pakistan as a separate autonomous street
Jagga Jallad	An aggressive Pakistani who hates ruling group of the country

Azad Khayal	A liberal Pakistani who seems to be anti-religious extremism
Punjabi	A Pakistani citizen from Punjab who does not endorses government's policies

B. Prepositional phrases as IDs

ID and Comment: Prepositional Phrases as IDs (F. Id. 7)

(F. Id. 6) *Lahore Se* (From Lahore)

Lahore	se (From)
Pre-modifier	Head
Noun	Preposition

Comment posted by *Lahore se*:

> Soon after this show after watching Sheikh Rasheed on TV PM of PAKISTAN Mr.Noora Shareef called Hindu god "Altaf Kalia" and said. Oooooo Baaj Rang Balliiiii Oooooo Baaj Ranj Baliiiii Wacth on TV sheeda Talii Defaming us every gali gali [(Sheeda Tallii) is defaming us in every street (of Pakistan).] Do somethin O Baj Rang Bali *Key iss ki zuban phir na chali* [(That his tongue should not work anymore). It implies that PM Nawaz Sharif would request Altaf Hussain, another political leader of Pakistan, to murder Shaikh Rasheed.] (*On the Front* February 19, 2014: Zemtv)

Discussion: Prepositional phrase as social media IDs (based on F. Id. 6)

The prepositional phrases have been used as IDs very rarely (02 %) by social media commenters of Pakistan. The preposition here has been used to signal identity clue to other social media users: the commenter is from Lahore and the Prime Minister of Pakistan Mr. Nawaz Sharif is also from Lahore. The commenter is trying to debunk the myth that Prime Minister of Pakistan is popular with the people of Lahore. The comment is racist, religious extremist, anti-Hindus and anti-India. Through

this kind of comment from a person from Lahore, the commenter implies that the people of Lahore do not like closer ties with India as it is wished by Pakistani Prime minister. It also implies that Pakistani politicians are corrupt and murderers.

C. Imperative clauses as social media IDs

IDs and Comments: Imperative clauses as social media IDs (Based on comments from F. Id. 7 to F. Id. 9)

(F. Id. 7) LOVE PAKISTAN

Love	Pakistan
Pro: mental	Phenomenon
TRANSITIVITY:	
Mental Clause	
Predicator	Compliment
REDIDUE	

Comment posted by LOVE PAKISTAN:

sh rasheed is cheap and boring *maskhara* (joker) and nothing else
shame on sh rasheed
sharam say doob maro (Die of shame) and now leave ur seat mr. cartoon
u better join some circus as a joker (March 12, 2014, Faisla Awam Ka: zemtv)

(F.Id. 8) *Mulla maro* (Kill Mulla)

	Mulla (The Muslim Priest)	Maro (Kill)
Experiential Metafunction	Goal	Pro: material
	Transitivity: Material Clause	
Interpersonal Metafunction	Compliment	Predicator
	RESIDUE	

Comment posted by *Mulla Maro:*

Why don't we park religion for a while and think of a peaceful way to live life. Word of present God seems to inflict same amount of hardship , as once sun worshipers once faced. All these copy cat religions seems to be written originally by Jews and recompiled by Christians and Muslims.
…. (*News eye* March 11, 2014:zemtv.com*)*

(F. Id. 9) CENSOR_ME_I_DARE_YA

Censor	me	I	dare	ya
Pro:material	Goal	Sayer	Pro:verbal	Receiver
TRANSITIVITY: Material Clause		TRANSITIVITY: Verbal Clause		
Dependent	Clause β	Independent	Clause α	
taxis: Hypotaxis				
logocosemantic relationship:	Projection-Locution			
Predicator	Compliment	Subject	Predicator	Compliment
REDIDUE		MOOD	RESIDUE	

Comment posted by CENSOR_ME_I_DARE_YA :

You DO realise that most of the 'great females' you cited here are little more than mascots. Other than Asma Jahangir, that is, who is just a terrible person…As for the rest:
Malala: Outspoken, bright girl egged on by considerably less likable father...
Ayesha Farooq: ISPR doing PR. It is not like the air force is actually going see any action.
Sharmeen Chinoy: Made doc regarding vitriolage victims, which the Academy liked because it targeted Pakistan, a safe target…Finally, why target Shahid Afridi at this time? After the India match?...Is he now expected to be aware and sympathetic to the latest imported trends in third wave feminism?
Please raise this issue. (*Why I won't be cheering for Afridi anymore*, March 11, 2014, dawn)

Discussion: Imperative clauses as social media IDs (based on comments

from F. Id. 7 to F. Id. 9)

The use of imperative mood or command as an ID by the Pakistani social media users is of great significance. It reflects deep-rooted Islamic discourse for achieving social justice. “It actually forms the basis for the existence of government in Islam. The Islamic teaching states that it is duty of every Muslim to stand solid against any act of injustice and dishonest sinful behavior” (Spruill 53). This is how the absolute commandment regarding standing against evil is stated in Quran:

> “Let there arise out of you a group of people inviting all people that is good (Islam) and enjoining *Al-Maruf* (Islamic monotheism and all that Islam orders one to do) and forbidding *Al-Munkar* (polytheism and disbelief and all that Islam has forbidden). It is they who are successful.” (The Noble Quran , Al Imran 104: 88).

Thus commanding what is right, according to Muslim version of good and evil, and forbidding what is wrong becomes a reigning discourse in a Muslim society whereby the nation of Islam forcefully fights off supposed social and religious evils. The Muslims believe that

> “if we ignore this principle and in the face of wrong we do not react in any way, then this means that in a spiritual and moral sense we are dead. Abd allah ibn Mas’ud was once asked, ‘Who are the living dead?’ and he replied, ‘Those who never command something good and never forbid something bad’. A similar point is made in that well known Hadith in which the Prophet (pbuh) is reported to have said: ‘If one of you sees something wrong, let him change it with his hand; if he cannot, then with his tongue; if he cannot, then with his heart and this is the weakest faith.” Some versions add: ‘there is no part of faith behind that, not even so much as a mustard seed’” (Shafaat 1987: para 02).

Thus commanding becomes a righteous act which different sects of Muslim

proudly do and find justifications in preaching their particular version of Islam. The preference of imperative clause with command as an ID by Pakistanis could be interpreted in this connection. By projecting their identity as the self-proclaimed preachers of goodness, these social media commenters are upholding a righteous and moralistic stance. They are giving judgments about others, dismissing others' views and ideas as false and unworthy and using aggressive language. At interpersonal metafunction level, the commandments are just made up of RESIDUE with elliptical 'you' of MOOD element. This invariably leads one to believe that such forceful commandments are for every Pakistani irrespective of their sectarian and ethnic differences. Same is the case, if we look at the experiential metafunction of these IDs. The mental and material processes choice of the commenters reflects a particular worldview: command the fellow countrypersons to do noble deeds. Now let us have a look at the lack of thematic unity or thematic incongruity between the commenters' selection of IDs and posted comments.

In the case of comments reproduced above, the first commenter LOVE PAKISTAN (see F. Id. 7) reflects his/her hate for a Pakistani politician and his/her ID implies that these politicians are not well-wishers of the country and whoever follows them is not a patriot. The second comment (see F. Id. 8) posted by *Mulla Maro* reflects the mindset of a person who is disappointed with the religions of the world and believes that all the religions of the world should be set aside and people should be free from religious biases. The third commenter (F. Id. 9 CENSOR_ME_I_DARE_YA) is showing his disregard for the achievements of some of the prominent Pakistani women. Apparently, all these comments do not seem to preach Islamic commandment of spreading righteousness and uprooting evil in their comments but the ID choices made by these commenters give an altogether different message. Their IDs reflect rigidity and intolerance for anything which does not align with their ideologies. The most liberal

commenter of these three seems to be *Mulla Maro* but he/she also seems to be entrenched in the discursive practice of taking strict action (like killing) against the wrong doers. Similarly F. Id. 7 and F. Id. 8 also express more condemnation for Pakistani politicians and prominent Pakistani women respectively than appreciation for their achievements.

It invariably leads one to infer that it is quite difficult to break free from the prevalent discursive practices of one's particular culture. As comments posting is a mediated practice and involves a degree of interaction with the other commenters of the same thread, the comments producers unknowingly / unconsciously follow and reflect the same discursive practices which they apparently and supposedly do not wish to be associated with.

D. Relational clauses as social media IDs

IDs and Comments: Relational clauses as social media IDs (F .Id. 10 and F. Id. 11)

(F. Id. 10) Sing is King

	Singh	is	King
Experiential Metafunction	Token	Pro: Relational	Value
	TRANSITIVITY: Relational Clause, Identifying		
Interpersonal Metafunction	Subject	Finite	Compliment
	MOOD		RESIDUE

Comment posted by Singh is King:

> I am deeply grieved to hear sad story of Mama Qadir and rest of my sisters and brothers. I pray, may Allah help them all. (Capital-talk, March 5, 2014: zemtv)

(F. Id. 11) *israel randi hai* ･(Israel is a whore.)

	Israel	randi	hai
	Israel	whore	is
Experiential Metafunction	Token	Value	Pro: Relational
		TRANSITIVITY: Relational Clause, Identifying	
Interpersonal Metafunction	Subject	Predicator	Finite
	MOOD	RESIDUE	MOOD

Comment posted by *Israel randi hai*:

Geo = Jew (Aj Kamran Khan ke saath , January 28,2014: zemtv.com)

Discussion: Relational clauses as social media IDs (based on F .Id. 10 and F. Id. 11)

The use of relational clauses as social media ID is very rare with Pakistani users. These clauses give very useful clues about conceptual schema of both commenters and presupposed comment recipients. The first commenter (see F.id.10) in this section uses a recontextualized and interdiscursive textual instance as an ID. The choice of a Hindi film song and film title as an ID easily convince the text recipients that the commenter should be identified with those sections of Pakistani society who are comparatively moderate and peaceful. In contrast to this, the second commenter (see F.Id. 11) is full of hate for Israel and Jews, and (s)he is linking up GEO a leading Pakistani channels with Jews who are considered foes and anti-Islam by most of the Pakistanis.

9. Direct/indirect identity clues and linguistic choices

Table 6 proposes a summary of the linguistic choices for fictitious IDs with inherent direct and indirect identity clues as they were supposedly conceptualized by the social media users. It is expected that this step in

textual analysis would enable one to appreciate grammatical choices contrived by social media text producers strategically to enhance rhetorical impact of their respective fictitious IDs and ideological and interactive potential of these IDs.

The direct and indirect identity clues thus emerged provide sufficient explanation of ideational conceptualizations foregrounded or backgrounded in the IDs' text. It would be pertinent to mention here that this study defines 'direct identity clue' either as a proper name or as a well-known ethnic or nationalistic group title which a commenter assumes for him or herself as a text producer such as Punjabi, Sindh, Pakistan etc. The direct identity clues either point exclusively to the commenters/text producers or to the whole group of which the commenter/text producer is just one representative. 'Indirect identity clues', on the other hand are diverse and complex and lead one to deduce commenters' identity through critical evaluation of thematic content of the comment posted and linking it up with functional-semantic dimensions of the ID.

Table 6: Direct and indirect identity clues via linguistic choices

Linguistic Classification of IDs	Direct Identity Clues	Indirect Identity Clues
Noun phrase	Proper noun	Epithet
		Fictitious title
		Common noun
Prepositional phrase	Proper noun	Preposition
		Epithet
		Fictitious title
		Common noun
Imperative clause: command	Proper noun	Verb
		Common noun
Relational clause: declarative	Proper noun	Common noun
		Epithet

In the following section, the broader implications of fictitious IDs are discussed and an attempt is made to find the answers to questions like how fictitious IDs use explains ideological stance of different sections of Pakistani society and what their implications are for critical language awareness.

10. Discussion and concluding remarks

This study was based on the assertion that "one of the most obvious linguistic means of establishing people's identity is through the giving and using of names" (Thorborrow 123). Like in everyday life, individuals on social media Websites attempt to be distinguished from other members of in-groups and out-groups by the means of some title or ID. On Pakistani social media Websites, the social media users could be identified as representatives of a particular group through evaluation of their chosen IDs. The chosen ID designates individuals as aggressive upholders, disseminators and propagators of certain ideological beliefs. It has been observed that social media ID construction practices or linguistic preferences for IDs creation vary from group to group. The ID choices could be part of overall structural paradigm of a discussion thread where individual establish and negotiate their identity in relation to other members of the group. Sometimes they post and endorse a particular ideological standpoint and choose their IDs accordingly and sometimes they post a counter-argument. Whatever the reason, the most interesting kind of IDs in this regard is that of fictitious one which has been analyzed in this particular strand of dissertation. The way different commenters address and interact with each other in social media discussion/comments threads depends upon the degree of agreement, disagreement and hostility towards supposed national, ethnic, sectarian and religious affiliations of the participants involved. Social media IDs and terms of address have important implications

and effects on the participants in a conversational exchange. In her study of American address terms, Susan Ervin-Tripp describes how a black American doctor was insulted by a white American policeman through the choice of derogatory address terms (22).

Furthermore, this study recognizes preferences for particular types of linguistic representation of IDs on the part of Pakistani social media users. Their choice of certain linguistic strategies plays an important role in establishing their identities and facilitating their interaction with the others. As tables (see Tables 1, 2, 3, 4 & 5) given above suggest that the use of noun phrases is one of the most frequently used strategy to give clue about a commenters' ideational and interpersonal background. The use of imperatives and relational clauses comes after noun phrases. It is through the tactful use of low ranked constituents within noun phrases and clauses (nouns, epithets and verbs) that the solidarity with in-group members is sought for and distance with the out-group members is maintained. Thus it could be surmised that social identity is not something individuals can always determine on their own; it is intertwined with other factors one of them being how they are perceived by the 'others' or out-group members. So, it could be maintained that social media users do not attempt to conceive of identity as a purely individual matter. Through choice of a range of IDs, they build up perception of themselves in relation to the others.

Another very important aspect of social media ID choice is that of maintaining the status and prestige within their particular social group. In a multilingual society like Pakistan, this status could be constructed through the use of language of prestige or a bilingual code in various ways. Being able to show that they can use English language appropriately, the question of identity becomes even more marked for Pakistani social media commenters. This is the reason that the most of the comments (N=865, 48%) of the comments of the representative sample have been posted

in English. Out of rest of the (N=935, 52%) comments, 30% (N=279) are in a bilingual code in varying degrees. This is because of the fact that the social media users take into account who they are interacting with and what they are posting about, and alter their language style accordingly. This could be linked with Bell's concept of audience design that provides a theoretical account of the reasons why speakers change the way they talk depending on the situation and context they are talking in. According to Thornborrow:

> This account is based on the premises that people are mainly seeking to show solidarity and approval in their dealings with others, and one way that speakers can do this is through linguistic convergence, i.e. by changing their patterns of speech to fit more closely with those of the person they happen to be talking to (Giles and Powesland, 1975; Giles and Sinclair, 1979). In some situations, speakers may choose not to converge, but instead to either maintain their own variety (linguistic maintenance), or move to a more extreme variety of their dialect (linguistic divergence), in order to emphasise the difference between themselves and the person or people they are talking to (131).

Thus most of the commenters seem to show convergence with linguistic conventions of the thread they are following. Most of the commenters on Dawn (90%) and Awaztoday (95%) Website were found to be posting comments with Pakistani anthroponyms . The frequency of fictitious anthroponyms on these Websites had been relatively low. It shows the convergence with the prevalent convention set by the majority of the page followers. Similarly, the overall language for both posting comments and assuming IDs on Dawn news Website is less offensive and less aggressive as compared to that of Zemtv and Awaztoday Websites. Additionally, all the comments (N=300, 100%) posted on Dawn news Website have been in English (because this is an English newspaper) which exhibits the educated and literate readership of the newspaper. Almost half of the

comments on Zemtv (N=520, 52%) and Awaztoday (N=220, 44%) websites have been in English. Though all the videos posted on the websites are in Urdu language; still almost half of the commenters prefer to post the comments and IDs in English language. Arguably, there could be multiple reasons for this, such as wish to be identified as an educated person or the prevalent practice of a multilingual society where members of a speech community could choose any language they know depending on context they are in and type of interlocutors they are interacting with and so on.

Summing up, this study attempted to bring to light the way Pakistani social media users project their identities through their ID choices on social media Websites. It was based on the assumption that choosing a regular anthroponym remains somewhat neutral and does not give the immediate clues about ideational and experiential value of the comments posted. The fictitious IDs which commenters deliberately choose are more ideology loaded and give clues about mental model worldview of a particular group of text producers/ text recipients and audience design of a particular discussion/comments thread.

❖ Works Cited

Agere, Sam. *Promoting Good Governance: Principles, Practices and Perspectives*, London: Commonwealth Secretariat, 2000. Print.

Anderson, John, M. *The Grammar of Names,* New York: Oxford, 2007. Print.

Bell, Allan. "Language style as audience design", *Language in Society*, 13: 145 – 204, 1984. Printed.

Blount, Ben G. "Lou Personal Names: Reference and Meaning" Saliskoko S. Mufwene and Lioba Moshi (eds.) *Topics in African Linguistics,* Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamin. 131-140, 1993. Printed.

Eggins, Suzanne. *An Introduction to Systemic Functional Linguistics.* London and New York: Continuum, 2004. Print.

Ezeifeka, Chinwe Roseann. "Strategic Use of Metaphor in Nigerian Newspaper Reports: A Critical Perspective". *Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis across Disciplines Vol. 6 (2)* (2013): 174 – 192. Web. April 4, 2014.

Ervin-Tripp, Susan. "Sociolinguistic rules of address". John Pride and Janet Holmes (eds.) *Sociolinguistics*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1980. Printed.

Fairclough, Norman. *Language and Power*. London: Roultledge, 1989. Print.

Giles, Howard and Peter Powesland . *Speech Style and Social Evaluation,* London: Academic Press, 1975. Print.

Giles, Howard and Robert Sinclair. 1979. *Language and Social Psychology,* Oxford: Blackwell, 1979. Print.

Halliday, Michael, A. K. *Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 2nd ed. London: Edward Arnold, 1994. Print.

Halliday, Michael A. K. and Christian M. I. M. Mattheissen. *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*, New York: Routledge, 2013. Print.

Shafaat, Ahmad. *Commanding Good and Forbidding Evil.* 1987. Web. March 16, 2014.

Spruill, Daniel, D. *Savior Or Destroyer?Is Christianity's Antichrist the Islamic Messiah?* Bloomington: AuthorHouse, 2006. Print.

The Noble Quran. King Fahad Complex Edition: Madinah KSA. Web. March 30, 2014.

Thornborrow, Joanna. "Language and Identity". Linda Thomas and Shan Wareing (eds.) *Language, Society and Power* 121-134. London: Routledge, 2005. Print.

Responding to the Spectral Voice of the Outcast: Reading of William Wordsworth's "The Thorn"

Heewon Kang
(Sangmyung University)

▌ABSTRACT ▌

William Wordsworth's "The Thorn" revolves around the following questions: Who is Martha? Why does she go to the mountain top and repeat her doleful cry? To these questions, it gives us two different kinds of answers; one derives from the villagers, and the other from the narrator. This essay attempts to examine how the answers exemplify two different critical approaches to the problem of community, using Jacques Lacan's account of sexual difference in his seminar on *Encore* as a guiding thread of analysis. The important thing to retain here is that sexual difference in Lacan's seminar on *Encore* does not so much indicate biological determinations as two distinct forms of relating to the other which are intimately bound up with the question of how a community is constructed and maintained. The first form, called "masculine," suggests that it is a radical exception to a community that makes possible the community as a field of totality or sameness; the second form, called "feminine," shows that each of the subjects cannot be regarded as a member of a closed community which is guaranteed by the exceptionality, but as an exception that is radically singular. This in turn leads us to consider the possibility that the masculine form has to do with the villagers' effort to distinguish themselves from Martha and the feminine form with the way in which the narrator confronts and represents her. In the course of his formulation of sexuation graph, Lacan stresses that the masculine side must be supplemented by the feminine side, which allows us to elaborate on why,

concerning Martha, the narrator does not just keep the completely different position from the villagers'. This is to say that the villagers' representation of Martha as an exception to the community should be supplemented by the narrator's attempt to tell Martha's story as the villagers do and at the same time to capture something of her enigmatic unrepresentability. Bearing in mind Charles Shepherdson's elaboration of traumatic memory, this essay also tries to clarify how the narrator preserves and even transmits something of Martha's truth that is embodied in her uncontrollable and unassimilable cry.

Key Words
hermeneutic anxiety, community, witchcraft accusation, outcast figure, exception, primal horde in *Totem and Taboo*, Lacan's sexuation graph, traumatic memory, Wordsworthian poet

In *Infancy and History: The Destruction of Experience*, Giorgio Agamben provides an intriguing case for our understanding of the notion of human infancy in the context of the discussion of experience. "In terms of human infancy," he writes, "experience is the simple difference between the human and the linguistic" (50). The human infancy, as Agamben elaborates, is nothing other than "a wordless experience" (47). This means that the infancy is not "a psychic reality located outside or beyond language in some nebulous so-called 'mystical experience' " (51). Rather, what is at stake for Agamben is the infancy as a sort of disjunction between the human and the linguistic. And as implied in his comment, "The individual as not already speaking, as having been and still being an infant—this is experience," Agamben stresses that experience can be defined as being exposed to the disjunction between the human and the linguistic (50). We need to redirect, in this connection, our attention to the figures in William Wordsworth's poems who are mad, outcast, exiled or abandoned, because they, as the instances of the disjunction between the human and the linguistic, are intertwined with the problem of 'unintelligibility' or 'silence' or 'the void in signification.'

This is exemplified in a particular way in "The Thorn," included in the 1798 version of *Lyrical Ballads*, where we are exposed to the 'wordless experience' always already included within the linguistic, more precisely, some ineffable but repeated cry of a wandering mad woman named Martha. Interestingly, the place haunted by Martha is regarded as her infant's grave.

Specifically, in "The Thorn," a narrator, along with his interlocutor, poses a series of questions with regard to a mystery at the heart of his experience, that is, a wandering woman named Martha: Who is Martha?, Why does she go to the dreary mountain top?, Why does she repeat the doleful cry?, and so on. But he is left with Martha's repeated cry, "Oh misery! oh misery!/O woe is me! oh misery!"[1] Can we say that Martha's cry marks one of the moments in Wordsworth's poetry when language seems to verge on silence or present experience as finally unintellgible? And taking one more step, can we read the moment when language presents experience as finally unintelligible as a reference point of ethical speculation in the sense that it is intimately connected with the outcast figures such as Martha? Does this mean that Martha as the figure marking a divergence or a moment of rupture in the narrative of "The Thorn" is embedded within the question of ethical relation? Indeed, in "The Thorn," the villagers' explanation of Martha and the narrator's story of her correspond respectively to two different kinds of answer to the question of how we confront Martha as a rupture in meaning. The villagers try to define Martha as a kind of criminal practicing infanticide or as the stain of crime and guilt that should be removed and expelled from their community. And it turns out that the villagers' effort to distinguish themselves from Martha on the basis of the law of morality contributes to maintaining their community as a field of sameness or universality. However, the narrator, even if he remains within the community to a greater extent and collects rumors and gossips about Martha, implicitly suggests that the villagers seek to

1) "The Thorn" in *Lyrical Ballads 1798*, 65-66. References to "The Thorn" are cited hereafter by line in my text.

domesticate or interpret Martha's enigmatic unrepresentability. We could say that the narrator keeps oscillating between the villagers and Martha, which intimates that, with regard to Martha, there remains the so-called ethical experience, that is, what cannot be entirely reduced to the law of morality. In what follows, I try to reread "The Thorn" on the basis of Jacques Lacan's insights concerning psychoanalytic ethics that draw attention to the ethical experience as the gap inherent in the law of morality. This rereading proceeds according to the unique elaboration of sexual difference Lacan provides in his seminar on *Encore*. Two pairs of logical formulae of sexuation introduced by Lacan help us to specify further the distinction between the villagers' explanation which tries to narrate Martha's story and to give it meaning on the one hand and the actual resistance to meaning that she presents in the poem on the other.

I. The Problematic Relationship between the Village Community and Martha

"The Thorn" is a poem which pertains to the question of the problematic relationship between a wandering woman and community. The narrator's report of the wandering woman named Martha begins with a series of questions asked, in a rather breathless way, by his interlocutor:

> 'Now wherefore thus, by day and night,
> 'In rain, in tempest, and in snow,
> 'Thus to the dreary mountain-top
> 'Does this poor woman go?
> 'And why sits she beside the thorn
> 'When the blue day-light's in the sky,
> 'Or when the whirlwind's on the hill,
> 'Or frosty air is keen and still,
> 'And wherefore does she cry?—

'Oh wherefore? Wherefore? tell me why
'Does she repeat that doleful cry?' (78-88)

It can be said that "The Thorn" is nothing but the narrator's (failed) attempt to give answers to these questions concerning Martha. Who on earth is Martha? Martha is a woman who was once a community member, but has been driven out of her mind after being abandoned by her fiancé Stephen Hill. Six months after her abandonment, she was witnessed to climb to the mountain-top which was assumed to be the place where she killed and buried her own child. What is interesting here is that the narrator's account of Martha is based on information or gossips offered by her neighbors ignorant of the motives behind Martha's actions, which is demonstrated by phrases repeatedly used like a sort of mantra; for instance, "they say," "many swear," "some say," "all and each agree" and so on (133, 173, 216, 218).

Alan Bewell takes up the issue of witchcraft belief or witchcraft accusation, reviewing "The Thorn" in his essay "A 'Word Scarce Said': Hysteria and Witchcraft in Wordsworth's 'Experimental' Poetry of 1797-1798." Why has Martha haunted a mountain-top site outside the village for twenty years? Nobody actually knows the reason, as the narrator himself says: "I cannot tell; I wish I could;/For the true reason no one knows" (89-90). But it is significant that everybody in the village has an opinion about Martha or Martha's conduct. Their opinions about Martha converge on her guilt as an infanticide. In this connection, Bewell gives his attention to the scene in which villagers heard "[c]ries coming from the mountain-head" that were both "plainly living voices" and "voices of the dead" and that were assumed to be Martha's cries (171, 172, 174). For bearing in mind "the mountain-head" as the usual site for nocturnal sabbaths, it is not surprising that villagers would "conclude that she had entered into a compact with the devil and murdered her child" there (Bewell 380). But in this scene, we cannot fail to notice the essential fear or anxiety

that villagers feel toward Martha as an enigma which renders problematic any neat distinction between living voice and dead voice. It might be said that the villagers' anxiety about Martha urges them to hastily announce her as a witch committing infanticide.

Why don't the villagers attempt to get some decisive solutions to questions about Martha through the direct confrontation with her? They never try to come face to face with her: "I never heard of such as dare/Approach the spot when she is there" (98-99). Rather it seems that they want Martha to be just spied on from a distance and so to remain obscure or enigmatic. Thus at issue in "The Thorn" is nothing less than the problematic relationship between Martha and the village community which simultaneously excludes and includes her. This is why Bewell, with respect to "The Thorn," places his specific emphasis on the social dynamics of witchcraft accusation; according to him, "witchcraft accusations were rarely spontaneous, spur-of-the-moment charges made by individuals, but instead reflected a community consensus, reached over a long period of time" (380).

Bewell claims that "The Thorn" gives one example of how the witchcraft accusation is necessarily bound up with a community consensus. In this context, it might be worth recalling that every villager has his or her own opinion about Martha, although nobody actually knows the reason why Martha has haunted a mountain-top site outside the village for twenty years. It can be argued that everybody in the village constructs his or her own 'fantasy' with regard to Martha or that constructing a 'fantasy' of Martha serves as the condition of possibility of the community. This is to say that constructing a fantasy of Martha ultimately amounts to keeping her at a proper distance and thereby establishing the community as a field of totality and universality. The important point to stress here is that the villagers can keep their community stable and meaningful only on the condition that they presuppose Martha as a kind of absolute exceptionality. This enables us to draw a paradoxical conclusion: Martha is always already included in the community in the way of being excluded from it.

Now we are in a position to spell out Martha's enigmatic status as what is in and beyond the community. To gain some sense of how Martha is placed in and beyond the community, it is necessary to cast some light on the narrator of this poem. For the narrator presents himself as a newcomer to the community. In the note attached to "The Thorn," Wordsworth makes clear that the narrator is "a Captain of a small trading vessel" who "had retired upon an annuity or small independent income to some village or country town of which he was not a native, or in which he had not been accustomed to live."[2] What interests us here is the possibility that the narrator, as an outsider with an itinerant past of his own, is exposed to the danger of becoming isolated from his adopted community like Martha. But even if the narrator enters the community as a stranger, he chooses to be engaged in gathering and presenting bits of story about Martha, thereby gradually integrating himself into the community. In fact, at times, the narrator professes that he cannot believe what he has been told; he says that "I cannot tell; I wish I could;/For the true reason no one knows" or that "But kill a new-born infant thus!/I do not think she could" (89-90, 223-24). But nonetheless he never ceases to repeat rumors and gossips which he has heard. There is another issue that is worth noting with respect to the narrator: he has an interlocutor who is also new to this village. For example, at various points, the narrator gives information and suspicions concerning Martha as if he makes answers to questions asked by someone eager to learn about her, which suggests that constructing the story about Martha is an ongoing process. As Toby Benis points out, "The Thorn" implicitly shows that it is the mechanics of the community-building process that requires the outcast to remain isolated (see Benis 111).

By considering the possibility that the community-building process corresponds to the fantasy-building process, we can take a step further in the direction of understanding the narrator's complex and enigmatic

2) See Commentary in *Lyrical Ballads 1798*, 139.

status different from the villagers' status. Since Martha began to haunt a mountain-top site outside the village twenty years ago, the villagers have provided their interpretations or explanations of her which actually amount to their fantasies belatedly constructed on the basis of groundless rumors and gossips. As already mentioned, the narrator has also participated in the process of constructing the fantasy of Martha. But at issue here is that the narrator's attempt to tell a story of Martha cannot be entirely reduced to the fantasy-building process of the villagers. It is necessary to recall, in this connection, that the narrator often says "I cannot tell." Let us take a closer look at the scene in which the narrator goes to measure the size of the pond. The narrator himself, as if he were not content with the rumors and gossips, that is, the half-knowledge given by the villagers, tries to measure the size of the pond, one of the natural objects that characterize the spot occupied by Martha: "I've measured it from side to side:/'Tis three feet long, and two feet wide" (32-33). Of key importance in this context is that even after this attempt, the narrator still keeps saying "I cannot tell." This is to say that the narrator "cannot tell" a whole story of Martha, although he gathers enough information about her or he maintains a neutral position without recourse to the villagers' groundless supposition and prejudice. It could be argued that "I cannot tell," the phrase which is dispersed throughout the poem, hints at the structural limit of the narrative of Martha.

II. Lacan's Sexuation Graph: Two Modes of Relating to the Other

The question of how one should encounter or represent Martha as an outcast figure is at the heart of "The Thorn." In "The Thorn," there are many explanations or interpretations of Martha that attempt to domesticate her strangeness or unintelligibility—for example, the story that says she

is suffering from abandonment by her fiancé, or from the trauma of her forced infanticide, and various other explanations such as witchcraft as well as forms of suspicion, gossip, etc. It is by producing 'meaning' that all these explanations seek to cover up the fundamental unintelligibility or strangeness of Martha. In order to clarify what is at stake in the explanations of Martha given by the villagers and besides, how the narrator's representation is different from that of the villagers, we need to examine the unique elaboration of sexual difference Lacan provides in his seminar on *Encore*, more precisely, his logical formulae of sexuation which enable us to reconsider the nature of community and the question of exception connected with it. For Lacan, the question of community cannot be properly developed without considering the problem of sexual difference. Lacan's account therefore develops two distinct forms, two possibilities of relating to the other, each of which is called "masculine" and "feminine." Here we should be circumspect about the way we understand the difference between men and women; for, as Tracy McNulty indicates, "Lacan's characterization of 'woman' is not strictly or even necessarily related to the female sex; 'masculine' and 'feminine' are, for Lacan, positions taken up in relation to the signifier, and not biological determinations" (266n35).

Let us briefly review the main outline of Lacan's argument on the sexuation graph.[3] To begin with, in the logical formulae of sexuation, the two formulae on the "masculine" side can be read as "All subjects are submitted to the phallic signifier" and "There is one subject who is not submitted to the phallic signifier." The point of these formulations might be encapsulated in the following terms: it is a radical exception to the symbolic order that makes possible the symbolic order as a field of totality. As is well known, the pattern which establishes the "masculine" subjective structure stems from Sigmund Freud's elaboration of the mythical primal horde introduced in *Totem and Taboo*. According to Freud's revision of Darwin's

3) For Lacan's sexuation graph and his own account connected with it, see Jacques Lacan, *The Seminar of Jacques Lacan Book XX: Encore*, 73-89.

account of the primal horde,

> All that we find there is a violent and jealous father who keeps all the females for himself and drives away his sons as they grow up....One day the brothers who had been driven out came together, killed and devoured their father and so made an end of the patriarchal horde. United, they had the courage to do and succeeded in doing what would have been impossible for them individually....They hated their father, who presented such a formidable obstacle to their craving for power and their sexual desires; but they loved and admired him too....A sense of guilt made its appearance, which in this instance coincided with the remorse felt by the whole group. The dead father became stronger than the living one had been—for events took the course we so often see them follow in human affairs to this day....They revoked their deed by forbidding the killing of the totem, the substitute for their father; and they renounced its fruits by resigning their claim to the women who had now been set free. (141, 143)

On the basis of this narrative, Kenneth Reinhard paraphrases the first formulation of the "masculine" side, "All subjects are submitted to the phallic signifier," to mean that "to be a man is to be under the universal thrall of the phallus as signifier; and the name for the limitations that this signifier imposes is 'castration,' the price of entry into the technologies of symbolic mediation" (51). All men, as "castrated subjects," enter the rule of the symbolic order, and in this symbolic order, they form a collective with equal rights and equal restrictions as suggested in Freud's narrative. But the second formulation of the "masculine" side, "There is one subject who is not submitted to the phallic signifier," makes explicit that there is one man who remains uncastrated; it is the primal father in Freud's narrative that embodies the uncastrated man who "supports the illusion of 'having it all,' the possibility of unlimited enjoyment, that enables men to bear their own castration" (Reinhard 53).

The important point to retain with respect to Freud's analysis of the primal horde is that it does not merely show how the symbolic order is established—more specifically, the way in which the primal father is expelled from the community, in order for all the sons to enter the symbolic order which would be a meaningful totality—but rather who or what is responsible for the obscene malfunction of the symbolic order itself. One familiar way to interpret Freud's account of the primal horde is to view it as a kind of mythical narrative, in which an original state (primitive authoritarian domination) is replaced by a more civilized and rational state (the quasi-democratic rule of the brothers). But Lacan remarks that Freud's account is quite different from this kind of imaginary history, and that its purpose is also quite different, insofar as it aims to account, not for the lawlessness of the original primal father, but rather for the peculiar disequilibrium that accompanies the very establishment of the law itself. What is in question here is the possibility that the myth of the primal father is constituted as a response to, or a defense against, the originary condition of the symbolic order. What if the symbolic order bears within it a kind of disequilibrium that produces a dimension of meaninglessness?

This is why, in Lacan's sexuation graph, the two formulae on the "masculine" side must be considered with, or more precisely, supplemented by two formulae on the "feminine" side; these formulae on the "feminine" side open up an interesting path to a conception of community which would not simply be based on the symbolic order as a field of totality, universality and sameness. The "feminine" side is also made up of two formulations: "Not all of a woman is subject to symbolic castration" and "There is no subject that is not subjected to the phallic signifier or the symbolic order." When it comes to the first formulation, "Not all of a woman is subject to symbolic castration," the phrase "not all" requires more careful consideration. Indeed, Lacan attaches considerable importance to the phrase "not all," as shown in the following passage:

> [W]hen any speaking being whatsoever situates itself under the banner "women," it is on the basis of the following—that it grounds itself as being not-whole [not-all] in situating in the phallic function. That is what defines what? Woman precisely, except that Woman can only be written with a bar through it. There's no such thing as Woman, Woman with a capital *W* indicating the universal. There's no such thing as Woman because, in her essence...She is not-whole [not-all]. (72-73)

Reinhard's commentary on this passage helps us to shed light on the status of the not-all (not-whole) in Lacan's argument. According to him, "the 'not-all' does not mean that not all women are under the law of the phallus....Nor does it mean that not all of a woman is castrated, that some part of her being or her body remains unscathed, free of the signifier's cut" (57-58). To put it another way, we must be careful not to make the false assumption that the woman's not-all "involves the nonfunctioning or suspension of the paternal signifier and consequent nontotalization of the field of signifiers" (Reinhard 59). Reinhard makes the further claim that whereas there is a unified category "all men," guaranteed by the exceptionality, women are radically singular, which in turn suggests that "[n]o authentic positive characterization of Woman in general is possible" and that women are "not examples of a class or members of a closed set, but each one an exception" (58).

The second formulation of the "feminine" side is "There is no subject that is not subjected to the phallic signifier or the symbolic order." It appears that, on the logical level, the implication of this formulation is not different from that of the formulation on the "masculine" side, "All subjects are submitted to the phallic signifier." Charles Shepherdson, in this connection, observes that the second formulation on the "feminine" side does not have "a universal proposition, a statement that could be distributed across all subjects ('All men,' etc.)" ("Philosophy" 139). As the feminine version of subjection to the law, the formulation "relies on the particular ('There is no woman who is not' etc.)" (Shepherdson,

"Philosophy" 139). At stake here is, after all, the difference between a universal quantifier "all" and a quasi-existential "there is." As we have seen above, there is no way of characterizing "women in general," which is to say that woman, as "a subject with a predicate that would cover the field of 'all women,' and allow us to capture her essence as a social or biological totality," does not exist (Shepherdson, "Philosophy" 140). But "there is" femininity; according to Shepherdson's account, "it is 'possible' that 'there is' something of femininity, which has precisely the character of not being fully inscribed in the signifier—a being in the mode of 'not-being-written' " (Shepherdson, "Philosophy" 140). It can be argued that woman, not wholly inscribed within the phallic function, points to some structural lack within the phallic function or the dimension of meaninglessness within the symbolic order. In the words of Reinhard, the woman's not-all "defines something more like a nonaccord or noncompliance with the phallic function, submission to it with reserve" (59).

III. The Place of Martha in and beyond the Community

The two formulae of the masculine side in Lacan's sexuation graph are summed up in the following words: One subject must be expelled from the community, in order for all of the other subjects to become the members of the community as a field of totality. When it comes to "The Thorn," the relationship between the villagers and Martha can be construed as being based on the masculine logic; that is to say, it is Martha as a radical exception that enables all the villagers to enter the community as a field of totality or sameness. How, then, is Martha constructed as an exception to the community by the villagers? It is worth recalling at this point Freud's elaboration of the primal horde introduced in *Totem and Taboo* in which the primal father is mythically situated in 'pre-history,'

as if this stain of crime and guilt (the 'outlaw' position of the father) could be eliminated from the symbolic order, so that law (the social contract) could function. On the basis of the masculine logic which requires two positions in relation to the law—total submission on the one hand (the sons) and absolute exceptionality on the other hand (the primal father), we can say that, for the villagers, Martha functions as a kind of 'criminal' or 'guilty party' in the explanations of the community which give her story this particular meaning. The hermeneutic anxiety she presents is converted by their mythological explanations into guilt.

Let us look further at a scene which puts very succinctly how the villagers define Martha as a kind of criminal and expel her from their community. Insisting that Martha, suspected of an infanticide, should be brought to public justice, some of the villagers decide to dig up the moss heap to find the bones which would be used as evidence. And yet, at the very moment they set to work, they are faced with some supernatural intervention:

> And for the little infant's bones
> With spades they would have sought.
> But then the beauteous hill of moss
> Before their eyes began to stir;
> And for full fifty yards around,
> The grass it shook upon the ground. (234-39)

This event forces the villagers to give up their project. What we should take seriously in this event is that the villagers share "what must be thought of as a kind of hallucination" (Simpson xiv). Are the villagers afraid of not finding what they expect and thus confirming that they have misjudged as to Martha or Martha's crime? Probably for this reason, despite their failure to find the infant's bones, all of the villagers who concern themselves with the project may "still aver/The little babe is buried there" (240-41). The fact that the villagers still insist that Martha must kill her own baby

even after their failure to find its bones leads us to be alert to the possibility that the villagers' story of Martha can be retroactively constructed in order to defend themselves against the enigma of Martha. But what if the community is the very engine that produces the villagers' anxiety in the first place? What if Martha points to a rupture that always already remains within the community or that accompanies the very establishment of the community itself? In other words, what if the villagers' story of Martha corresponds to the attempt to localize the very anxiety which is caused by the rupture or disequilibrium within the community and then to remove it from the field of subjects and the community?

In this context, we should attend to another layer of "The Thorn," that is, the relationship between the narrator and Martha which is necessary to be examined in terms of Lacan's account of the feminine side of the sexuation graph. For "The Thorn" develops a thought of community that would not simply be based on law and the symbolic order understood as a field of totality or universality or sameness, but that would rather be capable of registering its own incompleteness, its own relation to the void in meaning that Martha presents. In "The Thorn," Martha appears, at first sight, to function as an exception that guarantees the constitution of a unified group or community into which the narrator tries to integrate himself. But building upon Lacan's formulation of the feminine side of sexuation graph, the question arises as to whether there isn't such thing as the transcendental exceptionality which can be clearly separated and excluded from the community. Or if we bring Lacan's articulation of not-all (not-whole) to bear on this issue, we can say that the narrator shows that Martha is 'not-all' inscribed within the community whereas the villagers insist that she is 'not-at-all' inscribed within it.

Let us now take a closer look at the narrator's representation of Martha. As already mentioned, the narrator is a captain who retires to some village of which he was not a native, or in which he had not been accustomed to live. It amounts to saying that he could be an outcast and a stranger

like Martha. But at the same time he remains within the community to a greater extent by telling his story of Martha. This commits us to a search for the possibility that the narrator's representation of Martha is considered in relation to the feminine logic which focuses on what resists the law without standing as an exception to the law, in other words, what is neither simply outside nor entirely inside the community. Moreover, the narrator's complex and enigmatic status, as an outcast who nonetheless remains within the community, is highly significant in respect to the idea that, in Lacan's elaboration of sexual difference, the feminine logic cannot replace the masculine logic, but can only 'supplement' it. The narrator is still telling Martha's story as the villagers do. Yet of crucial importance here is that the narrator's representation of Martha is different from that of the villagers. It could be claimed that he functions to transmit anxiety in some way, so that, instead of explaining Martha by producing a story of guilt or crime like the villagers, he captures something of her enigmatic unrepresentability, and transmits it in language to the community.

The first thing to note concerning the narrator's representation of Martha is that his story, unfolded through a first-person narration, but not through a third-person narration that assumes a vantage-ground from which to control the whole narrative, begins with a description of three natural objects that characterize the place haunted by Martha. The thorn is "both infantile and ancient": "It looks so old and grey./Not higher than a two-years' child" (Benis 94; 4-5). Another thing to point out here is that the thorn resembles a man, in David Bromwich's phrase, "a peculiarly disfavored or wretched man"; it is "reduced to knots and joints like a skeleton, bereft of every sign of youth" (106). And the pond is "neither a proper pond nor dry land": "You see a little muddy pond/Of water, never dry" (Benis 94; 30-31). The moss heap also looks like "an infant's grave," but it is described as "so fair" (52, 55). As to these natural objects, Bromwich notes that many precise measurements are scattered in the description of them. Here is his summary of the three objects:

> [The Thorn] stands on a mountain's highest ridge, "not five yards" to the left of the path; three yards farther to the left is a muddy pond, which is never dry, and yet so small it ought to be occasionally dry: "I've measured it from side to side:/'Tis three feet long, and two feet wide." And beside the thorn, one other thing—a hill of moss, "Just half a foot in height," of "lovely tints" in network as if made by a lady's hand—a hill, we are told, "like an infant's grave in size." (106)

This is to say that villagers endeavor to make comprehensible the enigmatic natural objects which cannot be reduced to any oppositional way of thinking. Interestingly, as shown in "I've measured it from side to side:/'Tis three feet long, and two feet wide," the narrator himself goes to the pond to measure its length and width. This can be considered as a scene implying that the narrator does not just take a stand against the villagers' attempt to explain away Martha, which also allows us to glimpse the supplementary relationship between the villagers' representation of Martha and the narrator's (32-33). Like Martha, though, those three natural things won't be sized up so easily and cannot be clearly comprehended, which is why the interlocutor, even if he was already told of the narrator's direct encounter with Martha at the place surrounded by the thorn, the pond, and the hill of moss, cannot help but ask the following questions once again: "But what's the thorn? And what's the pond?/And what's the hill of moss to her?" (210-11). It might be argued that such natural objects as a thorn, a pond, and a hill of moss surrounding Martha are situated in the same condition as her in that they partake of ambiguous properties which defy binary opposition. The questions which the interlocutor asks, obsessively fixing on the natural objects consisting of Martha's place, can be said to contain an important clue to Martha's enigmatic status. The narrator does not provide any proper answer to these questions that are formulated in terms of "what is...?," which alerts us to the possibility that Martha, along with the natural objects surrounding her, is a mere gap or, in Lacan's term, *objet a* within the symbolic order.

In order to have a better understanding of the narrator's representation, we must engage in a closer reading of the scene in which he encounters Martha. The narrator is described as the only one who comes face to face with Martha, the problematic figure from whom the community implicitly tries to keep a certain distance. The reason why significance should be ascribed to the narrator's direct contact with Martha is that, although local curiosity or suspicion revolves around Martha, any member of the community will not confront her. When the narrator, as an old sailor who first came to the village, had not yet heard of Martha's name, he came upon Martha at some lonely, stormy mountain ridge. What constitutes the critical moment in this scene is the narrator's mysterious initial response to Martha:

> I did not speak—I saw her face,
> Her face it was enough for me;
> I turned about and heard her cry,
> 'O misery! O misery!' (199-202)

The narrator, in fact, does not mention his encounter with Martha until the seventeenth stanza, which leads readers as well as his interlocutor to expect that the encounter would help to explain Martha's enigmatic actions. Yet, ironically, far from resolving the uncertainty with regard to Martha, the encounter makes her much more elusive. Why did the narrator, on seeing Martha's face, turn away from it? We cannot find any specific answer to this question in the poem. Furthermore, after hearing the narrator's story of his encounter with Martha, the interlocutor asks the above-mentioned questions about the natural objects surrounding Martha: " 'But what's the thorn? and what's the pond?/'And what's the hill of moss to her?' " (210-11). To these questions, the narrator gives his answer, "I cannot tell," as he does to a series of questions about Martha herself (214). The narrator's answer "I cannot tell" deserves emphasis in

that it implies that he 'sees' Martha's unintelligibility in some way, but he does not wish to domesticate or interpret her as the villagers do. It can be argued that the event of 'seeing' or 'witnessing' Martha makes the narrator blind in some way, and that the blindness causes him to keep telling the story of her.

We can say that, unlike the villagers, the narrator wants to preserve and even transmit something of Martha's truth—her strange status as a void or rupture in meaning. In the narrator's story, something of Martha's truth is transmitted through the repeated doleful cry: "Oh misery! oh misery! Oh woe is me! oh misery!" This cry, which emerges in the scene where the narrator first talks about Martha to the interlocutor, is repeated in the last stanza once again; but it is in the initial encounter with Martha that he first heard the cry. In her essay "*Lyrical Ballads* and the Language of (Men) Feeling: Wordsworth Writing Women's Voices," Susan Wolfson leads us to examine in detail the last stanza of "The Thorn," focusing on the question of by whom the cry is repeated: By Martha herself or by the narrator or by Martha in (and beyond) the narrator? Acutely aware that the narrator has heard Martha's cry not once but "full many a time," Wolfson contends that the narrator's imagination seems "not only inspired by but possessed by this spectral woman's voice" (247; Wolfson 45). It indexes the fact that "her repetition has become his," or going even further, that the poem "concludes with the woman's voice inside the balladeer's" (Wolfson 45). Wolfson considers the relationship between the narrator and Martha as an example of "blurring of gender distinction under the influence of passion" which resonates intertextually in *Lyrical Ballads* (34). The narrator, says Wolfson, is fascinated with "the voice of female suffering," which exposes him to a "perilous transgressiveness" (42). Thus Wolfson brings the issue of feminization of man to the surface, and she even goes on to say that the narrator "enacts classic female hysterics"; more specifically, as symptoms of hysteria shown in the narrator, she points out "blocked speech—'I cannot tell; I wish I could'," and "possession

by other voices—his fixated repetition of her cry, 'Oh woe is me! oh misery'," and "his notorious garrulity" (42).

Wolfson's analysis of the cry, which seems to be useful and provocative up to a point, needs to be theoretically problematized, since it assumes a rigid and knowable division between man and woman so as to articulate the feminization of man or the blurring of gender distinction. Nevertheless, it is important to remember her point that "the text of 'The Thorn' always marks Martha Ray's cries in quotation marks," which indicates that the narrator tries to distance himself from the spell of the song that he rehearses (Wolfson 45, 46). For her point reveals the possibility that the narrator's marking Martha's cries in quotation marks paradoxically demonstrates his inability to properly assimilate Martha or her cries into his own story. This is to say that the cry "Oh misery! oh misery! Oh woe is me! oh misery!" might be reconceptualized as a sound coming from inside the narrator but at the same time as a spectral sound which cannot be dominated or controlled by him.

The way in which the narrator represents Martha can thus be seen in the scenes discussed earlier; the scene in which the natural objects surrounding Martha's place remain irreducible to any oppositional way of thinking; the scene where the narrator, on seeing Martha's face, turns away from it; and the scene in which the narrator seems to be possessed by Martha's uncontrollable and unassimilable cry. These scenes help us to elaborate on why the narrator's representation of Martha should be considered in terms of the feminine side of sexuation graph, because they make clear that it is possible that 'there is' something of Martha's truth, which has precisely the character of not being fully inscribed in the symbolic order.

Before concluding this essay, we need to dwell a while upon how something of Martha's truth is transmitted. This issue is worthy of further exposition in that the narrator has an interlocutor who is eager to learn about Martha. Can we say that the repeated cry "Oh misery! oh misery!

Oh woe is me! oh misery!" serves as a specific way in which something of Martha's truth is transmitted? To sharpen the sense of what's at stake here, we would do well to take a look at Shepherdson's discussion of traumatic memory. According to him, the concept of trauma raises "the question of 'events' that were never experienced as such, but that nevertheless become part of the subject's existence and continue to have effects," thereby obliging us "to speak of 'unprocessed' or even 'unsymbolized' experience, which can only lead to the enigma of an experience that is never experienced, never given an adequate place in the order of historical memory" (*Limits* 91). The important thing here is that the traumatic event which "never took place, in the sense that it never came to be properly inscribed in any symbolic chain," far from being simply forgotten, "remains and is even transmitted" (Shepherdson, *Limits* 92). Thus the question arises as to how the traumatic event can be transmitted. To this question, we might answer that the traumatic event which is not integrated into the symbolic order can only have the status of a disruption or break in the symbolic order.

However, Shepherdson asks us to pursue this question a little further from a Lacanian point of view; that is, he seeks to define more clearly the limits of the symbolic order entailed in the problem of transmitting the traumatic event. In this connection, it is necessary to recall the Lacanian notion of the real, since Lacan, in his attempt to formulate the real, develops a more nuanced understanding of the limits of the symbolic order. For Lacan, the real is a result of the symbolic, but it is narrated as if it were an original state that was lost or a lost object, which Shepherdson articulates by asserting that the real should not be understood as "pre-existing reality" but as an "innermost core" which "only acquires its repressed or traumatic character in relation to the familiar order of representation" ("Intimate" par. 45). Shepherdson's insistence that the real obtains its traumatic character only in relation to the symbolic order allows us to see the precise reason why the traumatic event is by no means something like "a natural, prediscursive foundation which the symbolic could either approximate or

betray" and why it "cannot be confused with what one might imagine 'actually happened' "; the reason is that the traumatic status of the event "depends upon the return, after the fact, of an event whose peculiar character consists in the fact that it never simply 'took place' " (Shepherdson, *Limits* 94).

Can we read the narrator's encounter with Martha in the same way that Shepherdson articulates the traumatic event? The traumatic status of the event of the encounter with Martha is attributed to the process in which the narrator belatedly returns to the event and attempts to speak of it or construct a narrative about it. It signifies that Martha cannot simply be said to belong to a pre-linguistic domain; the point is, rather, that Martha acquires her strange status of a void or rupture within the field of meaning as a result of the operation of representation. In Shepherdson's words, the event of the encounter with Martha is "imprinted upon" the narrator "without becoming part of" his experience, and it "remains and is even transmitted, but it is not handed down in the manner of ordinary historical memory" (*Limits* 92). This argument on the narrator, who is not simply an outcast, but who is in the more mysterious position of 'transmitting' to the community some of the 'crazy nonsense' or 'resistance to meaning,' affords us a new approach to the definition of the poet which Wordsworth offers in the Preface to *Lyrical Ballads*. In the Preface to *Lyrical Ballads*, Wordsworth asks "[W]hat is meant by the word Poet? What is a Poet? To whom does he address himself?"; his first answer to these questions is that the poet is "a man speaking to men."[4] It can be argued that the poet, as "a man speaking to men," is engaged in a poetic discourse that transmits the moment of 'resistance to meaning' or anxiety or the real in the Lacanian sense, just as the narrator of "The Thorn" transmits the truth of Martha.

---

4) See "Wordsworth's Preface of 1800, with a Collation of the Enlarged Preface of 1802," included as an appendix in *Lyrical Ballads 1798*, 165.

❖ Works Cited

Agamben, Giorgio. *Infancy and History: The Destruction of Experience*. Trans. Liz Heron. London: Verso, 1993.

Benis, Toby R. *Romanticism on the Road: The Marginal Gains of Wordsworth's Homeless*. New York: St. Martin's, 2000.

Bewell, Alan J. "A 'Word Scarce Said': Hysteria and Witchcraft in Wordsworth's 'Experimental' Poetry of 1797-1798." *ELH* 53.2 (1986): 357-90.

Bromwich, David. *Disowned by Memory: Wordsworth's Poetry of the 1790s*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1998.

Freud, Sigmund. "Totem and Taboo." *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*. Trans. James Strachey. Vol. 13. London: Hogarth P, 1913-14. 1-162.

Lacan, Jacques. *The Seminar of Jacques Lacan Book XX: Encore*. Trans. Bruce Fink. New York: Norton, 1998.

McNulty, Tracy. *The Hostess: Hospitality, Femininity, Expropriation of Identity*. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 2007.

Reinhard, Kenneth. "Toward a Political Theology of the Neighbor." *The Neighbor: Three Inquiries in Political Theology*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2005. 11-75.

Shepherdson, Charles. *Lacan and the Limits of Language*. New York: Fordham UP, 2008.

_____. "Lacan and Philosophy." *The Cambridge Companion to Lacan*. Ed. Jean-Michel Rabaté. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003. 116-52.

_____. "The Intimate Alterity of the Real." *Postmodern Culture* 6 (1996).

Simpson, David. *Wordsworth and the Figurings of the Real*. London: Macmillan, 1982.

Wolfson, Susan J. "*Lyrical Ballads* and the Language of (Men) Feeling: Wordsworth Writing Women's Voices." *Men Writing the Feminine: Literature, Theory, and the Question of Genders*. Ed. Thaïs E. Morgan. Albany: State U of New York P, 1994. 29-57.

Wordsworth, William and Samuel Taylor Coleridge. *Lyrical Ballads 1798*. Ed. W. J. B. Owen. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1969.

Building up an academic discipline on material assemblages: modern Europe's museum developments and 'museology'*

Seong Eun Kim
(Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art)

▌ABSTRACT ▌

At the turn of the century in which European colonialism was reaching its zenith and modernization was gathering speed, public museums were institutionalized. This paper looks into the part these European modern museums played in territorializing academic disciplines like anthropology and art history. The museums to deal with are the British Museum and the National Gallery in London, Musée du Louvre in Paris, and Museumsinsel in Berlin. Rather than in-depth detailed analysis of each museum, the aim is to explore the ways in which these museological institutions interacting with modern disciplines in the wider colonial context objectified other cultures and formulated a framework of the world through classification and comparison of material things, on the basis of the judgement of their artistic values. This exploration is also to rethink theoretical positions and perspectives on the museum in Korea. It is remarkable in Europe that such academic fields as history, art history, anthropology and cultural studies look for new possibilities of museology in conjunction with the recent proliferation of studies on the museum as a medium to construct and deconstruct knowledge.

* This paper was supported by National Research Foundation of Korea with the 2012 Government funds from Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (NRF-2012S1A5A2A03034169).

Meanwhile, the mammoth European museums which are often considered a stronghold of museology advocate the ‘universal museum’ themselves, quite the modern idea but in a revised rendering. Under these circumstances, this paper seeks to shed light on the definition of the museum as an arena in which scholarly discourses about art, culture and history can be created and contested, on the effectiveness of the museum as a communication medium in a postcolonial era, and on the need to pay trans-disciplinary attention to the museum in its broadest sense.

Key Words
modern academic disciplines, universal museum, European colonialism and otherness, anthropology, art history, museology

Doing or Undoing Museology

In 2011 there were some disputes in Korea when Youngna Kim, Professor of Art History, Seoul National University, was appointed Director of National Museum of Korea. The Museum is looked upon as being mainly about traditional Korean art and, because she is specialized in modern and contemporary Western art, a question was raised about whether she was qualified for the director of the institution. In Korean language, the term for the museum is ‘pang-mul-gwan’ whose literal meaning is a place for all kinds of material things of the world, and which is usually thought to house antiquities, historical artifacts and cultural heritage. A separate term ‘mi-sul-gwan’ is used in Korean for the art museum in English - rather than adding a qualifier for art to ‘pang-mul-gwan’ - meaning a place for fine art, which is normally linked to something modern and contemporary, something Korean and international. The National Museum is ‘pang-mul-gwan,’ and thus Director Kim’s academic subject was an issue. Interestingly enough, the Museum under her directorship has held such exhibitions as *Art Across America* and *Beyond Impressionism:*

Masterpieces from the Musée d'Orsay, which is quite unusual for the Museum's previous repertoires.

What academic discipline is a museum for? This question is a starting point to lead me, a curator-anthropologist who studied anthropology in the UK and is working in an art museum in Korea, to explore public museums in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Europe, because it was Europe that gave rise to the museum as we know today, that is, an institution collecting encyclopedic objects, compiling them into a certain order, and presenting them in the form of exhibition. In Europe running on the track into the twentieth-century modern society, the boundaries of academic disciplines were not clear-cut yet, and their territorialization was taking place in tandem with defining such core concepts as 'history,' 'progress,' 'culture' and 'society.' Among others, the category of 'art' was crucial to the discussion of museums. This is still true, since art museums take up a substantial portion among museum institutions; a decision made to select, collect, classify and display a specific object often involves the judgement of its artistic values, consciously or unconsciously; objects assembled and exhibited in the museum in themselves are material things and to interpret their forms entails direct or indirect references to the field of art; and the outcome of curatorial research is communicated through the form of exhibition, the very visual mechanism.

More specifically to the historical conjuncture of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, art played a distinctive part peculiar to the European colonialism. European museums which brought art and culture from other parts of the world, had to justify why and how they did it. Weaving museological narratives, they strove to distinguish art from non-art, alluding to enlightenment vs ignorance, civilization vs primitiveness. Here 'art' was deployed as an absolute and universal notion, but the usage was highly Eurocentric as a matter of fact. The analysis of art can involve multiple lines of enquiry, be it interpretation in search of meanings and values, or explanation in search of causes and conditions, but what remains at

the core of any analysis is the ever-present question ‘what is art?’. This is actually a question as to what is taken to be art by society and what ought to be rationally considered art. Based on the tradition of German aesthetics established by Winckelmann, Kant, Hegel and Wöllflin, the discipline of art history formed within the framework of modernism in the late nineteenth-century Europe has established the long-standing view of art as what prompts aesthetic experience, with a linear history of artistic progress from ancient Greece. This was an outcome of the colonial world view of art.

Colonialism of modern Europe was closely related to ‘exhibitionary complex’ in Tony Bennett’s term - the fundamental rearrangement of things to be looked at as an object of appropriation in consistent visual systems such as exposition, department store, arcade, diorama, panorama, and museum (Bennett 1995: 59-88). Though these systems treated different things like works of art, antiquities, commodities, specimens, they shared representational modality. George Kubler argues that the “history of things is intended to reunite ideas and objects under the rubric of visual forms: the term includes both artifacts and works of art, both replicas and unique examples, both tools and expressions - in short all materials worked by human hands under the guidance of connected ideas developed in temporal sequences” (1962: 9). In that the museum deals with the history of things, it covers a wide range of human activities. The significance of museum objects consists not simply in values and meanings for which they were originally produced, but also in transactions along the path leading to the museum and afterwards. When everyday artifacts are collected by the museum, they come to have uniqueness; instrumental tools used in a work of art can become part of expressive art in the museum. The history of objects on the move where different participants get involved extends “from origin to current destination with changing meanings as objects are continually redefined along the way” (Ames 1992: 141). Nicholas Thomas notes that “objects are not what they were made to be but what

they have become" (1991: 4). Furthermore, when a certain object comes to inhabit the museum, the context of the museum can also be changed and even newly created.

Up to the nineteenth century in Europe, different collections were formed primarily by individuals, whether it be curiosities from far exotic countries, or masterpieces created by ancestors. These were basically an aggregation of objects evoking a state of mind being marvelled and mystified and a moment of time conjoining the object and the subject, causing a rift to be made in existing structures of knowledge. This elusive and ambiguous experience was brought about because the objects were displaced, or misplaced, in the museum (Spitta 2009: 5). Through the age of enlightenment, a more systematic effort began to be made to rearrange the objects, to understand them more rationally, and to make the public understand it. This coincided with the period when European museums entered into a formative phase more bound up with academic institutions (Keurs 2007: 212). While collections had been intended to show off the power and wealth of royalty and aristocracy, the collected objects were now reborn as part of public institutions for historical survey, to distribute and circulate knowledge. The museums set about subsuming collected objects into a larger narrative structure, for which some theoretical ground was required; and in so doing, history, art history, archaeology, geology, biology and anthropology emerged as a discipline (Bennett 1995: 75). These academic disciplines sought to substantiate the history of the globe, the history of humanity, the history of civilization, the history of art, and the history of a nation, through the museum space of representation. It was believed that the synthesized relations between the histories could be shaped and a comprehensive orderliness of the world could be set up in the museum.

The so-called 'comprehensive order' was slippery to obtain, though, for museums with an encyclopedic collection in their hands were in need of creating what could provide the collection with internal coherence and

congruence, i.e., what could provide each object with commensurability with everything else in the collection. Anthropologist George Marcus, borrowing the notion of 'assemblage' by Deleuze and Guattari, argues that the assemblage of fragmented and disparate objects apparently indicates a certain organized structure, "with the materiality and stability of the classic metaphors of structure," but it is in fact elusive and ephemeral (Marcus and Saka 2006: 102). The spatiality and temporality embedded in the assemblage are unstable and infused with movements and changes, because the assemblage is inherently subject to aesthetic uses, which is precisely what undermines the ideas of structure ensuring certainty. The museum that embodies the idea of European modernity and assumes continuous and systematic spatiotemporality is indeed an assemblage of different times and different spaces that are in constant flux engaging different actors. In a nutshell, the museum is a heterotopia with high entropy. Sociologist Gordon Fyfe defines the museum as 'calculated' space where viewers are prompted to internalize the knowledge intended by heterogenous objects gathered in one place; as 'conflicted' space where the aristocratic and the bourgeois, the elites and the masses, the colonizer and the colonized collide with each other; and as 'collective' space where people acquire a social identity of a modern citizen, through the collective ritual of museum-viewing (2011: 35-6).

In the visual regime of the museum, what constitutes authoritative power is the gaze, i.e., the eye to observe and interpret an object, to produce knowledge about it and dispense it to a viewing subject, thereby making the exhibited as an object of understanding, an object to own and control physically. At the same time, the museum is "a theater for the coordination of an I/eye confronting the world-as-object, with an I/eye confronting itself as an object among objects in that world" (Preziosi 2011: 56). In the museum which was an 'engine of modernity' producing the subject and the object at once (Preziosi 2003: 14), modern academic disciplines were constructed with sensorial and material stagecraft interwoven with

theoretical discourses. Investigating the history of science, anthropologist Bruno Latour notes that modern disciplines drawing on material culture were enabled by a network of colonial power bringing objects to European cities where the museological technology could be exerted (1987: 225). Such disciplines as archaeology and anthropology in their earliest days were the academic reflex of colonial expansion and a lot of material encounters (Gosden 1999: 16). Colonialism paired with nationalism composed the circumstances where countries competed for occupying a specific area, collecting artworks and artifacts there and creating more methodical disciplines mobilizing the objects (Shelton 2011: 67-71). It can be said that the museum was at the crux of the hegemonic nature of cultural imperialism through academic initiatives.

This paper will look into the museums which influenced and were influenced by institutionalization of academic disciplines, when European modernization was accelerated at the apex of colonialism, and when multifaceted discussions were most intensively activated on the museum as an exhibitionary complex. My primary interests lie in how museum activities got intertwined with scholarly activities and how they reshuffled existing boundaries in academia. What will be dealt with is the British Museum and the National Gallery in London, Musée du Louvre in Paris, and Museumsinsel in Berlin. These huge historic museums of three countries, which developed in different contexts in different directions cannot be analyzed in detail in the limited space here. Instead, this paper will be focused on the issues raised by major figures active in the fields of anthropology and art history, the two very cross-cultural disciplines, who took the museum as their intellectual soil at the turn of the century. This paper aims to portray and map the changes at that time in terms of the critical awareness of museums interconnecting with academic disciplines. This is ultimately to revisit the present-day museology, to see how the historical period of time can resonate with today for doing museology with renewed questions, or perhaps ‘undoing’ it in order to formulate

it in an entirely new dimension.

London – Social Imperialism behind Education for All

The British Museum was established in 1753, with the private collection of Sir Hans Sloane, physicist and botanist, and officially opened in 1759. After one century in the 1850s it became a museum with the most diverse collections in London. For example, 2,100 anthropological objects from Sloane's collections were first displayed in the form of cabinet of curiosities, and later the Captain James Cook collections from his third expedition to the South Seas were displayed in a separate South Seas room, from which anthropological collections came to be classified by geographical categories. The British Museum then was divided into seven departments, i.e., manuscripts, printed books, antiquities, prints and drawings, mineralogy, zoology and botany. While the British Museum had been founded with the "principle of showing its heterogeneous collections to studious and curious people," its goals were now expressed in relation to knowledge, "to be a public exhibition of the finest collections in the world in all branches of knowledge" so that "the intelligence of the country has been energising in all the different abstract departments of knowledge" (Whitehead 2009: 79).[1] In this period of time, debates about the institutional identity of the British Museum became heated: is it a museum of natural history, a museum of art, or a museum of history? what does this national museum need to aim at for the general public and what does it need to carry out in academic terms? As well as museum professionals and specialists, those who joined in the debates were scholars who wanted to solidify the ground of young academic disciplines of theirs, and also

1) It can be construed in this vein that the British Museum not only exhibited book collections but also it played a role of library itself (Anderson 2012: 68).

politicians and officials who wanted to instrumentalize the museum for strengthening the colonial empire and modern nation state.

How to organize museum collections was critical in that new knowledge could be created and a new subject field could be defined by classification and convergence of material objects. For instance, historian David Mather Masson in his book *The British Museum, Historical and Descriptive*[2] expanding on the ethnographic collection maintained that even if advantages of cross-cultural comparison could arise when many heterogeneous articles from different nations were brought into juxtaposition in the same room, the cultures of China and India needed to be separated from other primitive cultures, "as presenting a civilization in some respects as advanced as our own, although of a singularly distinct kind" (1850: 22-3). Some of its collections had a colonial connection - there was a collection of Chinese cultural artifacts transported from the Summer Palace in Beijing sacked by British invaders (Clunas 1997: 191-2), and there was a great influx of Indian and Southwest Asian artifacts via East India Company - but the British Museum under the rubric of 'an art and history museum' was not really acknowledged as a colonial museum (Aldrich 2009: 139).

Regarding the category of 'art,' what is interesting in these developments of the British Museum is a special treatment of paintings. There were a few Chinese paintings in the room for Prints and Drawings which showed works by European masters like Rembrandt. The paintings were displayed together regardless of original meanings in a society from which they came because the genre of painting occupied a highest position in the hierarchy of Western art. Nonetheless, the overall portion of paintings

---

2) Masson described the collections of the British Museum in four parts: firstly, miscellaneous antiquities and curiosities, illustrating the manners and customs of ancient and foreign peoples, constituting the Ethnographical Department; secondly, minerals, fossils, plants and animals constituting the Natural History Department; thirdly, works of art, chiefly sculptures of ancient civilizations; and fourthly, the library together with prints, medals and portraits (1850: 20-1).

in the British Museum's encyclopedic collections was given less weight, not least because the collections were formed not by aesthetic judgements but by criteria of importance as a cultural and historical sample. From the earliest days, paintings existed in the collections of the British Museum, and especially in the early 1820s many aristocrats donated their collections of artworks to the British Museum. After the National Gallery was established in 1824, it became sorted out that paintings should go to the National Gallery, a national museum of art. The National Gallery was founded on the collection of John Julius Angerstein, businessman and underwriter. The government purchased thirty artworks from him, rented his house, and opened the museum there.

The art market of Britain was one of the most active ones in the eighteenth-century Europe, for the landed aristocracy and the emerging merchant class sought to collect artworks as a signature of social distinction as gentlemen. In this social atmosphere, a group of artists, particularly those who were presidents of the Royal Academy of Arts asked for opening private collections to the public and making a national museum of art. Politicians also paid attention to the relationship between art and the nation, among whom was radical John Wilkes. In a parliamentary speech, Wilkes argued for the need to add a national art museum to the British Museum, by which cultural superiority of the nation could be promoted through art (1777: 59-60). The development of the Louvre in Paris became a catalyst for the British people's desire to have a stand-alone art museum. This led to a construction of a purpose-built museum in central London, as part of urban regeneration projects. The National Gallery moved here, together with the Royal Academy, and implemented a more popular policy. Unlike the British Museum, the National Gallery laid emphasis on education for all, and consequently with an exponentially increasing number of visitors, the museum again needed more space by the mid-nineteenth century.

In the 1850s there were active discussions about the scope of museum collecting and exhibiting, in which epistemological dichotomy was at play,

namely, nature and culture, artworks and antiquities, the sacred and the secular, and Christianity and paganism (Whitehead 2009: 122). Among different museum professionals whose voices were added to the discussions on museum typology was architect Charles Eastlake, who was Director of the National Gallery for five years. He made a remark in the 1853 publication *Plan for a Collection of Paintings*: "All works of art may be compared together, and art may be compared with nature; and there is no end to the analogies which you might wish to see established and made accessible with the least possible difficulty; but I think that, practically, it would tend to very little purpose to have a museum which would embrace all works of art" (Whitehead 2009: 127). The ambiguous relationships between the British Museum and the National Gallery continued for a while, with some collections overlapped between them, so that the National Gallery was often considered as a kind of branch of the British Museum. In 1883, the board of trustees of the National Gallery made a request to the British Museum trustees for a transfer of drawings by art historical masters (Bradley and Ousby 1987: 467). 13 March editorial of *The Times* in 1890 advanced a proposal to have a central museum for contemporary art of the nation as a remedy to "the current dispersal of existing public collections of British art ... no Ministry and no Act of Parliament strictly limits and defines the scope of each of these bodies in the matter of acquisition, so that they work at cross purposes, and, if they do not actually compete with one another at public sales, each buys or accepts what ought to be the exclusive concern of one of the others" (Woodson-Boulton 2003: 153).

Although run by an independent board of trustees, these two museums having 'British' and 'National' in their titles were made national institutions by parliamentary acts, but the division of professional labour was still open to coordination and negotiation. The museums were hence a forum in which different intellectuals and scholars set forth their opinions about aims and missions of museums. Many of them began to associate the

role of museums with national identity, most notably those from the Royal Anthropological Institute established in 1871 and the Museums Association established in 1888, as well as the Royal Academy of Arts. Art historian John Ruskin argued that chronological arrangements in the museum were not merely concerned with the efficient usage of museum space but it could be a methodology to study the general history of the nation (1857: para 2474). Also a critic working for the Royal Academy, he had already given a lecture on art history in conjunction with museums, even before art history was set up properly as an academic discipline. When Ruskin gave evidence before the 1857 National Gallery Site Commission, he suggested that the collections of art and archaeology of the British Museum should be merged into the new museum, and "one of the main uses of art at present is not so much as art, but as teaching us the feelings of nations. History only tells us what they did; art tells us their feelings, and why they did it ... the whole soul of a nation generally goes with its art" (Taylor 1999: 77). That museums have to be an institution symbolic of the nation, representative of its cultural identity, also resonates with Henry Balfour's address in 1909. President of the Royal Anthropological Institute, and first curator of the Pitt Rivers Museum, an anthropological museum of University of Oxford, delivered a speech as President of the Museums Association about the relationship between the museum and anthropology, in which he argued for a new museum for Britain's own culture: "only a comparatively insignificant proportion of the whole has any direct bearing upon the ethnology of Great Britain, ... Even the British Museum - of whose magnificent collections we are justly proud - is everything except British as far as ethnology is concerned" (1909: 218). Alongside the social discussion on the accountability of national museums, the development of new positions like curators, conservators, critics, directors and other museum professionals came to be regarded as enriching national cultural capital (Prior 2002: 87).

The museum more intertwined with national identity was worked out

in the social context in which the significance of education came to the fore. Museums now assumed a mission as a public institution, and the general public also became more interested in scholarly arguments about art and the issues raised by museum exhibitions. Changing museums this way resulted in more interventions from the nation. The 1853 parliamentary report mentions that "together with state schools and libraries, it was hoped that museums would contribute to the moral and intellectual refinement of all classes of the community and the formation of common principles of taste" (McClellan 2003: 8). Annie Coombes links this to 'social imperialism' which was to combine imperialism and social reformation (2004: 279). In the circumstances kindled by the Education for All Act motioned in 1902, many museums adjusted their efforts to transform themselves as one of the principal institutions for public education. In the seventh issue of *Museums Journal* in 1902, there was an article to clarify the directions of museums to play a key part in contributing to "one great national work, the building up of the empire through the elevation of the communities and the individual" (Coombes 2004: 288-90). What pervaded the museum culture of the early twentieth-century Britain was the very idea of 'New Museum' as a pedagogic apparatus, serving the national ideology to bring up citizens of the empire, the national integration through forming a homogeneous national identity, and the national policy to produce scientific knowledge and preserve cultural heritage.

Paris – Savage and Surrealist Intersected

The fact that it was by revolution that Musée du Louvre was turned into a public museum in 1789 led to its highlighted role as a conveyor of political ideologies of the nation. This is well manifested in a letter written by Minister of the Interior in 1792: "It should be open to everyone. This will be a national monument. ... it will be one of the most powerful

ways of proclaiming the illustriousness of the French Republic" (Duncan and Wallach 1980: 454). In the Napoleonic regime, the Louvre exhibited the plunders of the revolutionary army from different European cities so that its collections had less of France but more of others. The press scrambled everyday for the news that the precious cargo carts decorated with tricolors and trophies made its way to the Louvre, with fanfare and commanding convoys, as if designed to recall those of Alexander the Great (McClellan 1999: 122-3). Through the public rite of spectacularly triumphal processions, Parisians were able to observe the power and glory of their mother country, and to take part in the process by which cultural objects of conquered countries were transformed into museum collections of their own. The museum became a symbol of national power, and an instrument to win the people's heart. Visitors to the museum felt that they had an equal right to constitute the nation and took up the co-ownership of national cultural heritage, and this mechanism transfigured people from the masses to individual citizens. This is articulated by Duncan and Wallach drawing on the concept of ritual defined by anthropologist Victor Turner: museum visitors are led to take part in the staging of a symbolic ritual reinforcing the national ideology at the moment of liminality in between the museum space and the mundane life (1980: 450).

Since the Louvre became a public museum with a strong political intent, it was unavoidable to meet with a difficulty in reconciling the contexts of collections coming from different areas and different ages. What was brought in as a solution to this was the art historical method, removing an object out of its specific original context, taking account of only its purely aesthetic qualities, and displaying them chronologically and by schools. This approach was what would lay the groundwork for the typical exhibition techniques of today's museums (Duncan 1991: 95). Here art historical canons were brought into being, and that the history of art was represented physically in a museum exhibition means that art history then fulfilled the function of museology (Preziosi 2003: 37). The methodology

combining schools and chronology was also in line with the emergence of historicism in which European art historians like Winkelmann narrated art historically, positioning classical art at its summit (Pommier 2003: 12). Since museology was none other than art history, in-depth research on historical works was prerequisite, which needed to be carried out in the museum. Taking office as Director of the Louvre after the February Revolution in 1848, Philippe-Auguste Jeanron took initiatives to make curators exercise their influence on rearranging collections necessary to mount an education-centered exhibition. He also proposed a transfer of the National Library to the Louvre to enhance research environment, and indeed succeeded in realizing his idea of a curatorial library and archive in the museum (Weisberg 2002: 179, 182-3). The status of the museum depended as much on the capacity of research and the style of exhibition as on collections per se (McClellan 1999: 80-1).

Called 'Palace for Art' or 'Palace for People' the Louvre was most of all a place to set up the French art history; in other words, it was a ritualistic place to glorify artistic heritage illuminated in the process of juxtaposing the past and the present of French art (McClellan 1999: 82). In eulogizing French art, what was often mobilized were material objects of cultural others as a counterpoint, which accompanied a series of museological issues. In the nineteenth century French imperialist navies and explorers collected marine objects and exotic curiosities, many of which flowed into the Louvre. As the antiquities from Peru, Mexico and other countries of Americas, began to make a mark in the 1830s and 40s, a separate room in the Louvre was allocated for these objects in the 1850s. In a little while, however, displays of these anthropological artifacts disappeared, partly because curatorial consensus was not reached regarding whether these objects were beautiful enough to be categorized as a work of art (Conklin 2013: 41). It is from here that to characterize non-European objects in relation to art and aesthetics became a critical but thorny issue in the French history of museums. In the 1870s, for example,

Prime Minister Jules Ferry maintained that superior races should be distinguished from inferior races, and staged a campaign to separate savage objects from artistic masterpieces of the Louvre (Price 2007: 30).[3]

In judging the artistic values of objects from other cultures, there was a double standard in operation. What could be a case in point were objects from East Asia. As were artifacts from Africa and Oceania, those from China and Japan were handled for long with geographical classification rather than aesthetic evaluation. Museum curators spoke candidly of difficulties in dealing with those objects in terms of drawing a clear line between their anthropological values and art historical values, in that these countries had their own writing system, had a long tradition of art-making, and made a distinctive impact on industrial art and avant-garde art in Europe. Aesthetic analysis of them did not precede their becoming a museum collection either, unlike that of Greek classical art (Dias 1991: 127). Only in the late nineteenth century, the objects from East Asia came to be acknowledged as art having an independent aesthetic system. This coincided with the time when East Asian artifacts made frequent appearance in Parisian museums. While philological research was prioritized before, a new methodology of studying material objects was attempted by newly founded societies such as Société d'Ethnographie (Conklin 2013: 32). Linguist and Orientalist Sylvestre de Sacy explained this museological mode as follows: "a vast depot of objects of all kinds ... all offered to those who wish to give themselves to the study of the Orient; in such a way that each of these students would be able to feel himself transported as if by enchantment into the midst of, say, a Mongolian tribe or of the Chinese race, whichever he might have made the object of his studies" (Mitchell

3) After the 1878 Exposition Universelle, Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro was established in 1883, to which anthropological objects were moved out of the Louvre in the end. As opportunities to look at other cultures through occasions like world expositions in Paris were growing, more systematic approaches were necessary, and material objects seen as a tool of scientific exploration facilitated division and specialization of museums.

1992: 293-4). The figures like Sacy wanted the museum to be a scholarly ground for research into other cultures through objects.

From the viewpoint that the museum could be an educational institution to teach and learn art, it was rather logical that École du Louvre was established inside Musée du Louvre. With an aim to enlarge knowledge about collections, and to educate curators, conservators and the general public, the Grande École had a curriculum of archaeology, art history and anthropology, and its academic authority was not challenged because this was even before professorship of these academic disciplines was not yet erected in universities (Dekoninck and Roucloux 2012: 317-9). It is noteworthy that many of the scholars who taught at the École made an interdisciplinary study; for instance, archaeologist and sociologist Henri Hubert, also well-known for his collaboration with anthropologist Marcel Mauss, gave a lecture on the ethnographic history of Celtic and Asian cultures. In 1927 the world's first museology course was opened in École du Louvre. Museologist Georges Henri Rivière took a course in museum studies here and became the first president of the International Council of Museums later. In the 1920s and 30s, surrealist figures influenced by anthropological collections were active in École du Louvre too. Georges Salles taught about art from China, Islam and Africa, Georges Conteneau about Ellam and Sumer, Joseph Hacking about Afghanistan and India, and René Grousset about Asia. These surrealists around the magazine *Document* took the Louvre as their footing to rebel against the orthodox art education of University of Paris-Sorbonne (Therrien 1998: 488, 491-2).

Surrealism is closely connected to anthropology in the museological context in France. The interest of anthropology in museums came up in France relatively later than Britain and Germany. Very sociological in its inclination before, French anthropology began to take note of museums, when Marcel Mauss put forward the need for the museum, emphasizing material aspects of a society (Mauss 1913), and clearly counted museology as part of anthropological methodology of observation, proposing the

museum as an archive (Mauss 1926). Until then, most anthropologists in France entered the field via natural history, philology, archaeology, history and sociology (Conklin 2013: 242), and so did some surrealists who worked with anthropological collections (Clifford 1981). Marcel Griaule and Michel Leiris are among those who combined anthropology and avant-garde art movements. Mauss also expressed his interest in looking at anthropological objects from an artistic perspective. Surrealist Guillaume Apollinaire contended that, because exotic anthropological objects inspired European artists with their visual forms, thus being as great as the European works of art, anthropological collections had to be included in the Louvre (Apollinaire 1909, quoted in Price 2011: 70). The social connections between surrealist groups and the bourgeois class were at play as well. In 1928, Paul Rivet, anthropology professor in the Natural History Museum and Director of Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro, appointed Rivière from École du Louvre as Deputy Director. Rivière had organized the Dakar-Djibouti Expedition and actively interacted with avant-garde art circles. With this appointment, Rivet had a strategic intention that Rivière's social links with surrealist artists could be an appealing factor to bourgeois people interested in the anthropological museum (Conklin 2013: 105-6). The intersection between the institutionalization of museum anthropology and the advocacy of modern art including surrealism lies at the root of the debates of aesthetics versus anthropology, which is often brought to the fore when dealing with other cultures in French museums today (Debaene 2004: 56).

Berlin – Sanctuary for Art and Science

Modern museums in Germany can be characterized by the social ideas of nation and ethnicity imbued with German Romanticism of Goethe and Schiller. After Aloys Hirt, who taught in Akademie der Wissenschaft und

Künste in Berlin, advocated the necessity of a museum in the academy first in the late eighteenth century, there were concentrated efforts to build a new museum to put together different collections accumulated across Berlin including royal collections, and to show them to the public in both scientific and popular manners. This gathered momentum by Wilhelm von Humboldt, the founder of University of Berlin, who began to serve by the order of the King, as Chairman of the Commission on the Foundation and Interior Design of the New Berlin Museum in 1829. Humboldt was an influential figure devoting himself to the enhancement of social education through university reform and through cultural and comprehensive education free to anyone (McIsaac 2007: 59). In this respect, he was interested in the potentiality of museums. German intellectuals at that time, who had opportunities to visit museums of other European countries, were keenly aware of the museum's social role. Compared with Britain and France, Germany was not yet a unified and consolidated political unity, with some social tension and disorder among different states. Humboldt believed that art could make people cohesive and cultivate cultural taste and sensibility, thereby strengthening the Kingdom of Prussia.[4)] What he saw in the museum's role is that museum visitors undergo a series of viewing rituals and come to possess an object of cultural value collectively, whereby social ties are forged and social identities are shaped (Sheehan 2000: 57).

The notion of museum bound up with the state power implementing art education became materialized in the Altes Museum, the first public museum in Germany, which opened in 1830. Those who were involved in the founding of the Museum including Humboldt and architect Karl Friedrich Schinkel shared the aesthetics of Schiller and Hegel that art could elevate human souls through sublime art. Following the aesthetic

---

4) The Riga Memorandum that Prussian Minister of Culture submitted to the King in 1807 contains the following phrase: "the fine arts are the expression of the highest condition of mankind and that the state has the duty to make them accessible to everyone" (Duncan and Wallach 1980: 457).

idealism that art could offer transcendence which used to belong only to the realm of religion, they presented the museum as a profound place overlaid with aesthetic experience, and as an educational arena similar to Paideia, ancient Greek philosophy of education (Poulot 2012: 202). The museum was understood as part of the educational process, in which the aesthetic experience of art played an important role in consecrating the national culture. The museum was thus focused not only on showing a work of art as an exemplar of historical progress but on embodying aesthetic experience appealing to everyone intuitively. For example, a central rotunda like the Roman Pantheon was set as a twilight zone between the museum and the outside world, in which people could get prepared to view the exhibition, i.e., to enter a kind of sanctuary (McClellan 2008: 66). Meticulous calculations were conducted, about architectural structures, the movement of viewers, and wall color, lighting, plinth size, etc., to maximize the visual effect of art being autonomous and self-contained.

The Altes Museum in its earlier days was supposed to display authentic paintings and sculptures from Greece and Rome regarded as civilizations of highest aesthetic achievements. From the stage of its preparation, however, there had been discussions on how to rearrange encyclopedic collections and which museum to take what, and this continued after the opening of the Altes Museum (Gaethgens 2012: 286-7). A desire for an all-inclusive museum that could unroll the cultural history of humanity gave birth to the second museum, the Neues Museum. Friedrich Wilhelm IV designated the island along the Spree River “Freistätte für Kunst und Wissenschaft” which was the beginning of Museumsinsel (Stockhausen 2005: 10), and the opening of the Neues Museum here in 1859 brought Museumsinsel into shape as a museum complex (Poulot 2012: 203). Unlike the Altes Museum that was seen as an institution of public education, the Neues Museum was closer to an academic institution accommodating up-to-date art-historical research and representing it in spatial and material terms[5) - if there was a blank in the historical narrative: it was filled in by cast

replicas so that the museum as a media of historicism could be ensured (Marchand 2000: 182-3). The museum put to scholarly use was animated in some measure by anthropological collections that increased sharply in the mid-nineteenth century. In addition to anthropological objects scattered across different collections from the 1830s, a great amount of objects collected by explorers to Asia and Africa in the 1850s and 60s came into the Neues Museum. The number of anthropology specialists accordingly increased and their scholarly activities centered around museum collections became more invigorated too.[6)]

The Berlin museum project went on to open the Nationalgalerie for contemporary art in 1876. Unlike the other two museums based on royal collections, the Nationalgalerie began with the collection of banker Joachim Heinrich Wilhelm Wagener. His collections were originally international, consisting of works of artists from diverse European countries, while the Nationalgalerie set up a policy to have collections limited to works of German artists. On the frieze of the Nationalgalerie German cultural history was inscribed from prehistory to the nineteenth century, and on the pediment, "For German art, 1871" - 1871 is the year when German states were unified into Prussia, the German Empire. This was a response to the prevalence of nationalism in the newly emerging modern states, exemplified in national pavilions of international expositions, and partly a reaction to the fear of homogenization of cultures due to modernization. From the twentieth century onwards, however, the composition of collections underwent incessant changes with regard to whether a new art form should

---

5) Johann Joachim Winckelmann historicized art for the first time in his book *History of Ancient Art* in 1764 where he drew commonality and universality of artistic styles from each historical age. Historicization of art was reinforced later under the influence of Darwinian evolutionism.

6) There was a demand for a separate museum for anthropology, and finally the Museum of Ethnology was established outside Museumsinsel with the first director Adolf Bastian in 1873, to which 4,000 objects were transferred mainly from the Neues Museum.

be embraced, as the themes of everyday life were introduced in many works of art and avant-garde art of European modernism flourished (Keisch 2005: 9, 73).

A lot of artworks and artifacts were brought to collections in connection with the expansion of Germany in political and economic terms after the unification, in which Richard Schöne and Wilhelm von Bode, two General Directors of the royal museums in Museumsinsel, played a leading role. Taking office from 1880, classical archaeologist Schöne reinforced the museum as an academic arena, and encouraged experts and specialists to make use of museum collections as a scholarly resource. For instance, Adolf Bastian was employed to take charge of anthropological collections and to undertake research into them. Schöne believed that museums were not for enjoying beauty but for doing Wissenschaft (Marchand 2000: 185). Museumsinsel that began with the Altes Museum with classical antiquities and paintings came to have seventeen departments including anthropology, Islam and Near East when Schöne left office in 1905. The collections became so diversified not least because of the competition with the British Museum and the Louvre. The museum project in Germany started later than London and Paris, so those in power in Berlin invested a great deal in collecting artworks and artifacts, to catch up with other European countries.

Bode who became Director after Schöne in 1905 had already opened the Kaiser Friedrich Museum the year before - later renamed the Bode Museum - with such a powerful driving force that he was nicknamed ‘Bismarck of the Museum.’ On the one hand, he shared with Schöne the idea that the nation had to take responsibility for making a large-scale collection and its conservation and for developing museums into a single cultural complex; and the museum had to serve the German Empire. On the other, Bode as art historian and curator was not in agreement with Schöne, pursuing the museum as a place for aesthetics rather than cultural history. Collections for him were not an evidence of historical change

but an object of aesthetic appreciation. He took the views that aesthetic values extracted from material relics handed down from the past were what transcended historical evolution, and that beauty transcending time and space was invariable as the essence of human existence. Notwithstanding, it was not a simple matter whether to show historical evidences or artistic masterpieces, and it was unavoidable that different display techniques coexisted: to group different types of works from each period of time in order to show historical changes; and to reenact historical times in period rooms enabling the complete immersion of viewers in the past represented transparently there.

In the conjuncture in which the formulation of Museumsinsel was going on, there were lively interactions and interchanges between academia and the museum world in the light of cultural politics. This is because the museum was considered as a forum in which arguments on the authority of knowledge could be endorsed and generalized. Among others, there was a pronounced confrontation between the humanistic perspective to see the supremacy of ancient Greek culture, and the empiricist perspective to claim on the superiority of modern natural science. The formation of opposition was particularly conspicuous between text-based disciplines such as classicism and philology, and object-based ones such as anthropology, art history and archaeology. This kind of contest and competition was not only to seize an initiative and to earn a reputation of theoretical interpretations. Anthropologists and archaeologists joined the social discussion to obtain funding required for their fieldwork, and art historians and museum professionals to take an advantageous position for a source of government funding. The most well-known is the war of words between Bode and art historian Herman Grimm from University of Berlin. Bode who was also a connoisseur involved in art markets placed emphasis on improving the artistic taste of the general public through the museum, while Grimm stressed the educational role of the museum to convey scholarly knowledge to the public, regarding art as a reflection

of *zeitgeist* in a broader context of cultural history (Joachimides 2000: 207-9).

The compromise between these two camps was made in the fifth museum of Museumsinsel, the Pergamonmusuem that opened in 1930. This museum was established to deal with architectural relics from Near and Middle East, the stronghold of German colonial archaeology. It developed from excavations in the areas of today's Bergama where the Hellenistic empires had flourished. With the increasing awareness that the possession of archaeological remains of other cultures was essential for the status of the German Empire, archaeological excavations that had begun in Egypt and Sudan were more accelerated with the support of the Prussian government to reach Pergamon in the area of the Ottoman Empire from 1878 to 1886. The significance of Pergamon was suggested in the 1886 special occasion in Berlin. Commemorating the centenary of the Royal Academy of Arts, and Kaiser Wilhelm I's 25th throne anniversary, what was called 'Pergamon Temple' was constructed. In the semi-circular architecture, the panorama of Pergamon was rolling out to evoke the effect of magic lantern, and actors in period costume staged the triumph of Attalus II against the Celtic, alluding to the victory of Bismarck against the French. There was a political intention to parade the achievements of German archaeologists under the auspices of the government in today's Turkey, Iraq, Jordan and Syria, and also to equate Berlin with ancient Greek cities (Bilsel 2012: 109-13). In the 1886 event, there was also an exhibition that showed German colonies in central Africa in five panoramas entitled 'Kaiser Diorama.' In the model temple of Dendera of ancient Egypt, Africa was described as part of the German Empire, absorbing Africa into Hellenistic ideals. The appropriation of colonial images in this way was fashionable at that time, which was to consume the world through the window of Europe by removing its depth and making it a painterly expression equivalent to surrounding scenery (Sternberger 1977: 46-7).

Architectural relics including the altar unearthed at the Pergamon site

were moved to Berlin, and consequently there needed museum space to store and display these enormous pieces, from which the Pergamonmuseum was born.[7] It contained architectural collections of ancient Greece and Rome, ancient Mesopotamia and Islamic Middle Ages, and these collections were presented as a collage of architectural monuments so that the entirety became the museum architecture itself. They looked like panorama paintings without any dimensional depth, in which racial and cultural typology was rendered devoid of anthropological meanings. The likelihood of facing others firsthand, which would be somewhat awkward and inconvenient, was simply eliminated in the first place in the museum. The presence of self-referential architectural monuments created illusion of actuality, and here to digest archaeological fragments in a single narrative of the cultural heritage of an imagined transcendental subject, that is, 'humankind,' was no less hegemonic than ethnographic displays of colonized natives, a showcase of human beings from colonized lands, which were also then in fashion (Bilsel 2012: 20, 87).

World Cultures, and 'New' Museology Again

With the topography of museums conceived and designed by modern Europe as mapped above, if roughly, it can be seen that another dimension of Europe's modernity is overlapped. That is, cosmopolitanism. In parallel with Eurocentrism and nationalism, the value of a world citizen was promoted and universal cultures were pursued. The ideal of cosmopolitanism was intimately and inextricably bound up with colonial interventions of Europe in other cultures and with subsequent movements and migrations of people and things (van der Veer 2002: 166). The openness of

7) The transfer of the Pergamon altar to Berlin was partly driven by the fact that the Parthenon marbles were moved to the British Museum, projecting the imperialist aspiration onto archaeological achievements.

cosmopolitanism was concerned with an aesthetic and intellectual attitude to look at other cultures as 'art' to some extent (Hannerz 1990: 139). It was in the museum that what contradicted and conflicted with nationalism could be artificially reconciled under the rubric of art. Remarkably enough, this rings a bell if you bring to mind the tendency of the twenty-first-century European museums aspiring towards universality. In the wave of globalization, which is now an almost hackneyed expression, new museums with the title 'world cultures' come up one after another[8]; and mammoth museums like the British Museum and the Louvre state their identity as a 'universal museum.'[9] This standpoint is not surprisingly contested by non-European museums and academics. In this situation of a kind of the tug-of-war of cultural hegemony, the issues posed in the modern European public museums seem still relevant to think over today.

The nineteenth-century museums as public property were transferred into a social and symbolic domain, and major cities in Europe comparing themselves with each other gave impetus to laying out urban museumscape.

---

8) It seems that the wording 'world' is being used more frequently than before. In the case of the UK, there are museums such as the World Cultures Gallery in Liverpool World Museum, and the World Art Gallery in Brighton Museum; and art courses such as School of World Art Studies and Museology, University of East Anglia. The word is also found in a diplomatic post 'Chairman of World Collections' to which Neil MacGregor, Director of the British Museum, was appointed by the UK government to promote six British national collections internationally.

9) In December 2002, nineteen museums including the British Museum unveiled an argument that they were universal institutions, issuing the 'Declaration on the Importance and Value of Universal Museums.' The signatories include the Louvre in Paris, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, the State Museums in Berlin, and the State Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg. The International Council of Museums aptly featured the Declaration and debates in the cover story of *ICOM News* 57.1 in 2004. UNESCO also held a public debate *Memory and Universality: New Challenges Facing Museums* chaired by the Deputy Director for Culture and attended by directors of the British Museum, the Louvre and the Hermitage, and directors of the National Museum of the American Indian in Washington, D.C. and École du Patrimoine Africain in Porto-Novo.

The museum became a political space as a ruling instrument, to propagate values mediated by the national ideology. The museum was also an educational and aesthetic space for the general public to study and enjoy cultural assets of humankind. Therefore, what to collect was not the only thing to take into account. The techniques of classification and exhibition became significant, whose methodologies were developed in a theoretical framework of each academic discipline. Furthermore, the process in which encyclopedic collections were rearranged and divided typologically, caused a museum to become departmentalized, and to become specialized in each subject. This was nothing but the very process in which modern knowledge was produced through classification and comparison on the basis of movability and combinability of collections. More than anything else, the important task of the museum was to take a bird's-eye view of the world and unfold it under the gaze of Europeans. The past segmented and fragmented was to be fused in the space of the museum through the design of the present, so that history was made up as a seemless patchwork, in which the dynamics of aesthetics and science was always at work.

In the museum space which is separated from everyday life, what European cities aimed to achieve is to have a grip of the world and to turn the world into a single unified frame of universal knowledge, which inevitably went with academic activities. European museums deployed in the colonial configuration in full swing erected a new building, selected a collection, and employed professional curators. This whole series of systematization of museums also wielded an influence on the institutionalization of anthropology and art history, the academic disciplines dealing with material culture, as socially recognized, independent subject fields. Whereas knowledge-making had been conducted before by the conventions of scholarly communities positioned in a fluid network, standard methods of inquiry came to take shape across different fields of intellectual pursuit, establishing normative codes and protocols. Behind this the museum was a driving force as a means to construct discourses and theories, as

a medium to visualize and communicate well-organized knowledge. All practices of the museum to bring the world, to bring other cultures to the here and now are what brings on a certain way of seeing and a certain web of signification, in the tension between representational qualities and immediate actualities, in which creativity and contestability are inherent (Lidchi 1997: 199). In association with the then newly emerging academic disciplines, the modern museums of Europe performed a sort of experiments to create the categories of knowledge by classifying borderline objects, and the experimentation was complex and indeterminate so that dispute and debate, imagination and appropriation were in-built.

The conceptualization of the museum as a medium has gained ground as museum studies took a new turn in the late twentieth century, especially by *The New Museology* written by Peter Vergo published in 1989. Museum studies had been concerned only about the practicalities of methodology and management of the museum before, while it was transformed into multilayered theoretical studies about history and philosophy, about objectives and responsibilities of museums. Anthropologists who joined this wave of changes by dissecting the relationships between the museum and colonialism, have expanded their museological interest in anything other than typically anthropological museums, such as an art museum and a science museum. Art historians who also came to question art-historical fundamentals taken for granted, in term of their being Eurocentric and colonialist, have deconstructed a museum narrative of art history, and pluralized it adopting a cross-cultural perspective. The museology literature that has exploded since the late twentieth century in European academia proves that there seems not a single discipline in humanities and social sciences that do not take an interest in museology. Why has museology or museum studies been thrust into the limelight so radically? The model of European public museums that built up the architecture of 'universal knowledge' by taking 'the whole humanity' as an object of the knowledge has intrinsic flaws due to its origin in colonialism. Nevertheless, it is

acknowledged that the museum can be a self-reflexive medium: in other words, what is taking place in the museum cannot but reveal its being mediated, and therefore the museum can reflect upon itself, and find a new possibility within. The recognition of the museum as a medium, and as a conduit of convergence and consilience of different disciplines is what stimulates the current boom of museum studies. This is also why the exploration of modern European museums is still significant for the present-day museum context. The most recent museology raises questions underlying the modernity of the museum, and strives to go beyond modern ideas by the very medium of the museum itself.

There is a strong tendency in Korea of thematic divisions of museums, in which each type of museum is considered to belong to a specific discipline's territory. The specialization of museums results in weakening their inherent museological function as a cross-disciplinary or even trans-disciplinary platform changing an existing paradigm and creating a new way of knowing, by different disciplines interacting with each other to be transformed and manifested anew. Perhaps this is why it is not easily accepted that the National Museum of Korea holds an exhibition on Western art history. It must be addressed, though, whether the changes in museum programs are made only by a new director's specialty or policy without sufficient social discussion on the identity of the national museum. It is also the case in Korea that anthropology is normally linked to a folk museum and its proper attention given to other types of museums including an art museum does not come fully into view yet. There is plenty of room for the interpenetration of universities and museums too in line with the rethinking and unsettling of our consciousness of museums. Research to throw new light on scholarly practices in, with and about the museum is growing, as in *The Two Art Histories: The Museum and the University* (Haxthausen 2002) and *Academic Anthropology and the Museum: Back to the Future* (Bouquet 2001). Looking at academic approaches to the museum from a non-European perspective in a postcolonial

era, it seems worth being reminded that the museum is always already a composite of archaeology, natural science, history, art history, aesthetics, sociology, and anthropology in particular which is all about cross-cultural understanding and communication delving into and dismantling demarcations.

❖ References

ALDRICH, Robert, "Colonial Museums in a Postcolonial Europe," *African and Black Diaspora: An International Journal* 2.2 (2009): 137-56.

AMES, Michael, *Cannibal Tours and Glass Boxes: The Anthropology of Museums*, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1992.

ANDERSON, Robert G. W., "British Museum, London: Institutionalizing Enlightenment," in Carole Paul ed., *The First Modern Museums of Art: The Birth of an Institution in 18th- and Early-19th-Century Europe*, Imprint: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2012, 47-72.

BALFOUR, Henry, "Presidential Address to the Museums Association, Maidstone Meeting," 1909, reprinted in Bettina Messias Carbonell (ed.), *Museum Studies: An Anthology of Contexts*, London: Wiley-Blackwell, 2003, 218-24.

BENNETT, Tony, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*, London: Routledge, 1995.

BILSEL, Can, *Antiquity on Display: Regimes of the Authentic in Berlin's Pergamon Museum*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

BOUQUET, Mary (ed.), *Academic Anthropology and the Museum: Back to the Future*, New York; Oxford: Berghahn, 2001.

BRADLEY, John Lewis and Ian Ousby (eds.), *The Correspondence of John Ruskin and Charles Eliot Norton*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

CLIFFORD, James, "On Ethnographic Surrealism," in *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art*, Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard University Press, 1988, 117-51.

CLUNAS, Craig, "Oriental Antiquities / Far Eastern Art," in Tani Barlow (ed.), *Formations of Colonial Modernity in East Asia*, Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1997, 413-45, reprinted in Howard Morphy and Morgan Perkins (eds.), *The Anthropology of Art: A Reader*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006, 186-208.

CONKLIN, Alice L., *In the Museum of Man: Race, Anthropology, and Empire in France 1850-1950*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2013.

COOMBES, Annie, "Museums and the Formation of National and Cultural Identities," in Donald Preziosi and Claire Farago (eds.), *Grasping the World: The Idea of the Museum*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004, 278-97.

DEBAENE, Vincent, *Far Afield: French Anthropology between Science and Literature*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.

DEKONINCK, Ralph and Joël Roucloux, "Art History in France: A Conflict of Traditions," in Matthew Rampley, et al. (eds.), *Art History and Visual*

Studies: Transnational Discourses and National Frameworks, Leiden: Brill, 2012, 315-33.

DIAS, Nélia, *Le Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro (1878-1908): Anthropologie et Muséologie en France*, Paris: CNRS, 1991.

DUNCAN, Carol, "Art Museums and the Ritual of Citizenship," in Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (eds.), *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, Washington, D.C.; London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991, 88-103.

_________, *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums*, London: Routledge, 1995.

DUNCAN, Carol and Alan Wallach, "The Universal Survey Museum," *Art History* 3 (1980): 448-69.

FYFE, Gordon, "Sociology and Social Aspects of Museums," in Sharon Macdonald (ed.), *A Companion to Museum Studies*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2011, 31-49.

GAETHGENS, Thomas W., "Altes Museum, Berlin: Building Prussia's First Modern Museum," in Carole Paul (ed.), *The First Modern Museums of Art: The Birth of an Institution in 18th- and Early-19th-Century Europe*, Imprint: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2012, 285-303.

GOSDEN, Chris, *Anthropology and Archaeology: A Changing Relationship*, London: Routledge, 1999.

HANNERZ, Ulf, "Cosmopolitans and Locals in World Culture," *Theory, Culture & Society* 7.2 (1990): 237-51.

HAXTHAUSEN, Charles W. (ed.), *The Two Art Histories: The Museum and the University*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002.

JOACHIMIDES, Alexis, "The Museum's Discourse on Art: The Formation of Curatorial Art History in Turn-of-the-Century Berlin," in Susan A. Crane (ed.), *Museums and Memory*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000, 200-19.

KEISCH, Claude (ed.), *The Alte Nationalgalerie, Berlin*, London: Scala Publishers, 2005.

KEURS, Pieter Ter (ed.), *Colonial Collections Revisited*, Leiden: CNWS Publications, 2007.

KUBLER, George, *The Shape of Time*, New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1962.

LATOUR, Bruno, *Science in Action*, Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1987.

LIDCHI, Henrietta, "The Poetics and the Politics of Exhibiting Other Cultures," in Stuart Hall (ed.), *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, London: Sage in association with the Open University,

1997, 151-221.
MARCHAND, Suzanne, “The Quarrel of the Ancients and Moderns in the German Museums,” in Susan A. Crane (ed.), *Museums and Memory*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000, 179-99.
MARCUS, George E. and Erkan Saka, “Assemblage,” *Theory, Culture & Society* 23.2-3 (2006): 101-9.
MASSON, David Mather, *The British Museum, Historical and Descriptive*, Edinburgh: William and Roberg Chambers, 1850.
MAUSS, Marcel, “Ethnography in France and Abroad,” *Journal of Paris* 20 (1913), reprinted in Victor Karady (ed.), *Marcel Mauss, Oeuvres 3: Cohésion Sociale et Division de la Sociologie*, Paris: Minuit, 1969.
_______, *Manuel d’Ethnographie*, Paris: Payot, 1926, translated in N. J. Allen (ed.), *Manual of Ethnography*, Oxford: Durkheim Press, 2007.
McCLELLAN, Andrew, *Inventing the Louvre: Art, Politics, and the Origins of the Modern Museum in Eighteenth-Century Paris*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999.
___________, “A Brief History of the Art Museum Public,” in Andrew McClellan (ed.), *Art and Its Publics*, Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2003, 1-50.
___________, *The Art Museum from Boullée to Bilbao*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2008.
McISAAC, Peter, *Museum of the Mind: German Modernity and the Dynamics of Collecting*, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University, 2007.
MITCHELL, Timothy, “Orientalism and the Exhibitionary Order,” 1992, in Nicholas B. Dirks (ed.), *Colonialism and Culture*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992, 289-317.
POMMIER, Edouard, *Winckelmann, Inventeur de l’Histoire de l’Art*, Paris: Gallimard, 2003.
POULOT, Dominique, “Museums and Museologies,” in Matthew Rampley, et al. (eds.), *Art History and Visual Studies: Transnational Discourses and National Frameworks*, Leiden: Brill, 2012, 197-216.
PREZIOSI, Donald, *Brain of the Earth’s Body: Art, Museums, and the Phantasms of Modernity*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003.
_________, “Art History and Museology: Rendering the Visible Ligible,” in Sharon Macdonald (ed.), *A Companion to Museum Studies*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2011, 50-63.
PRICE, Sally, *Paris Primitive*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007.
______, *Au Musée des Illusions, Le Rendez-Vous Manqué du Quai Branly*, Paris: Denoël, 2011.
PRIOR, Nick, *Museums and Modernity: Art Galleries and the Making of Modern*

Culture, London: Berg, 2002.

RUSKIN, John, *Report of the National Gallery Site Commission: Together with Minutes, Evidence, Appendix and Index*, High Wycombe: Harrison & Sons, 1857.

SHEEHAN, James J., *Museums in the German Art World: From the End of the Old Regime to the Rise of Modernism*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

SHELTON, Anthony Alan, "Museums and Anthropologies: Practices and Narratives," in Sharon Macdonald (ed.), *A Companion to Museum Studies*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2011, 64-80.

SPITTA, Silvia, *Misplaced Objects: Migrating Collections and Recollections in Europe and Americas*, Houston: University of Texas Press, 2009.

STERNBERGER, Dolf, *Panorama of the Nineteenth Century*, New York: Urizen Books, 1977.

STOCKHAUSEN, Tilman von, "Markenpolitik im 19. Jahrhundert: Die Berliner Museumsinsel als Public Relation-Idee," in Thomas Biskup and Marc Schalenberg (eds.), *Selling Berlin: Imagebildung und Stadtmarketing von der preußischen Residenz bis zur Bundeshauptstadt*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2008, 107-15.

TAYLOR, Brandon, *Art for the Nation: Exhibitions and the London Public, 1747-2001*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999.

THERRIEN, Lyne, *L'Histoire de l'Art en France: Genèse d'une Discipline Universitaire*, Paris: C.T.H.S., 1998.

THOMAS, Nicholas, *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991.

TURNER, Victor, "Frame, Flow and Reflection: Ritual and Drama as Public Liminality," reprinted in *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 6.4 (1977): 465-99.

VAN DER VEER, Peter, "Colonial Cosmopolitanism," in Steven Vertovec and Robin Cohen (eds.), *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context, and Practice*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002, 165-79.

WEISBERG, Gabriel P., "Using Art History: The Louvre and Its Public Persona, 1848-52," in Elizabeth Mansfield (ed.), *Art History and Its Institutions: Foundations of a Discipline*, London: Routledge, 2002, 178-90.

WHITEHEAD, Christopher, *Museums and the Construction of Disciplines: Art and Archaeology in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, London: Duckworth, 2009.

WILKES, John, *The speeches of John Wilkes, one of the knights of the shire for the county of Middlesex, in the Parliament appointed to meet at*

Westminster the 29th day of November 1774, to the prorogation the 6th day of June 1777, Volume 2, London: Fielding and Walker, 1977.

WOODSON-BOULTON, Amy, "The Art of Compromise: the Founding of the National Gallery of British Art, 1890-1892," *Museum and Society* 1.3 (2003): 147-69.

Introduction of the European Peep-box and Development of Visual Culture in the 18th Century Japan*

Sang-Myon LEE
(Yonsei University)

▌Abstract ▌

During the Edo-period [江戸時代 1603-1867], Japan accepted the modern western science and culture while trading with Holland since 1609, and also through the influx of optical instruments in the 18th century the *culture of viewing pictures* began to be developed. Especially, the peep-boxes and their pictures had been imported from China and Holland since the mid 1750s when they were flourished. The peep-box was rapidly and widely spread. Soon after, the peep-boxes and pictures had begun to be produced in Japan (megane [眼鏡] and megane-e [眼鏡絵]) since 1770s when the early visual culture settled down in Kyoto and Tokyo etc. The visual culture developed with the peep-box contains two remarkable factors in the cultural history of the 18th century Japan. First, the peep-boxes became the *popular device of visual entertainment,* and opened the first phase of the modern visual culture before the advent of photography and cinema in the mid and end of the 19th century. Secondly, the peep-box played a role of an *educative media* as a 'window to the unknown world' in the 18th century Japan, by showing various pictures of many European cities. Through the peep-box pictures the 'western images' were spread and knowledges of Japanese about the west increased, although

* This research has been supported financially by the POSCO TJ Park Foundation's Research Grants for Asian Studies.

they were recognized just as ‘Holland’s images’ without differentiation in each country.

Key Words
peep-box, perspective view, optique, optical instrument, visual culture

1. Japan Contacting with Europe in the 17th and 18th Century

Since the end of the 16th century, western civilization and culture had been introduced in East Asia (China, Korea, Japan) more than in the past as they started increasingly contacting with European countries. While East Asia was generally in a closed period at that time, Europe was in the Age of Exploration entering to an unknown world. Europe was also in the Period of Scientific Revolution when science rapidly made a progress after the period of Renaissance. Afterwards, merchant ships and Catholic priests from Europe came to East Asia on the purpose of trade and missionary work.

Around this time, Japan began to trade with European countries. In the early Edo-period [江戶時代 1603-1867], Japanese government supported a policy of trading and accepting European science as well as culture and art even though it prohibited the western religion (Catholic) in 1613. Since then, various kinds of cultural items and artefacts had been introduced to Japan. Among them were included the optical instruments such as *the peep-box, an optique of watching pictures in the box.*

Invented by scientists utilizing a broad range of scientific knowledges (esp. physics and optics), the peep-box was the device that people were able to look pictorial images through a small lens. In addition, it was used as a visual entertainment on the street and was very popular from the early 18th century to mid-19th century in Europe. During this period,

the peep-box showed wonderful, interesting, and attractive images on landscapes in many of European cities as well as spectacles including earthquake, fire or volcano explosion, and presented visual pleasure (Schaulust) to people of a wide range of classes.

It also served as an educative media that conveyed a set of knowledge about the distant places where people in the 18th century were not able to easily travel to. Hence, the peep-box played a role of a "window to the world"[1] making it feasible to inform them about unknown places. Viewed in this aspect, the peep-box was "the artefact in the context of Enlightment in the 18th century"[2]. In addition, according to a German researcher studying an optical device named Bodo von Dewitz, it was regarded as "the first popular media which began to satisfy desires toward education and entertaining fantasy till 1800"[3]. Thus, as a visual device of popular entertainment and education with interesting pictures, the peep-box was considered as a significant optical instrument for people in the 18th and 19th century in Europe.

Since it was introduced to Japan from the early 18th century, the peep-box had left a remarkable impact in the field of culture and art (painting and engraving). In Japan, many types of the peep-box had been manufactured, and the visual culture began to rapidly and widely expand. Hence, in the history of culture it has been an interesting subject to investigate not only how and what types of the European peep-boxes were introduced to Japan but also which influences and changes they brought about in culture and art at that time.

This paper focuses on the influx of the European peep-boxes and the early development of visual culture in Japan. This study is meaningful

---

1) U. Hick: *Geschichte der optischen Medien,* München, 1999, p. 223.
2) Ibid., p. 222.
3) B. v. Dewitz: "Eine mobile Bilderwelt. Der Guckkasten als Bildmedium der Aufklärung im 18. Jahrhundert", in: B. v. Dewitz · W. Nekes (eds): *Ich sehe was, was Du nicht siehst!,* Köln, 2002, p. 81.

in identifying the development of visual culture in East Asia after western science and optical instruments were introduced. However, it was difficult to develop the research due to lack of proper literatures because no academic study on this theme — also no research on the peep-box — has been conducted in Korea until now. As a result, related literatures do not currently exist in Korea. Furthermore, most of the references in Japan are not interpreted into English or other languages. However, relatively many of the related records have been preserved so that we are capable of tracing the development phases of the peep-boxes in Japan. Under these circumstances, it is intended to mention here that this paper was written by relying on the English and German literatures as well as the informations of Kobe City Museum [神戶市立博物館].

2. Influx of Western Science and Optical Instruments in Japan

2-1. Historical Background

During the Edo-period (1603-1867), Japan traded with China [Ming 明・Qing 淸], Korea [Chosun 朝鮮] and Ryukyu Kingdom [瑠球, now Okinawa 沖繩]. However, Japan still maintained by and large a close-door policy. On the other hand, before the Edo-period, Japan opened a port in the southern area, Nagasaki [長岐] in 1571, and traded with China and Portugal and Spain, followed by Holland since 1609. Particularly trading with China, the biggest trading nation at that time, not only Chinese goods but also European items including scientific books and instruments as well as artefacts such as optical devices and copperplate/woodbloc prints etc were imported.[4)]

4) Katsumori Noriko [勝盛典子]: “Nagasaki trade in the Edo period”, in: *The 18th-19th Century Japan through Her Painting and Prints: Meeting with the West,* Seoul, 2011, p. 36.(국문 번역 제목, 가쓰모리 노리코,「에도시대의 나가사키 무역」,『근대 일본이 본 서양』)

After Japan’s feudal government Tokugawa [德川] ordered to prohibit christianity in 1613, the trade was restricted to a small site in Nagasaki, Dezima [出島]. Since 1641, only Holland was recognized as the unique European country for the trade. Hereafter, Japan continued to trade with Holland for approximately 220 years until 1859 via the merchant ships of the Dutch United East India Company [東印度會社 Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie].[5] Meanwhile, western science and culture were widely accepted resulting in ‘prosperity of western studies’ [洋學] in the ruling period (1716-36) of the 8th Shogun [將軍] Tokugawa Yoshimune [德川吉宗] who was relatively generous to foreign policy.[6]

At that time, science and culture from Holland were called as ‘rangaku’ [蘭學, Holland studies]. However, the term actually meant to study western science (especially natural science) and culture as well as arts. According to a Korean historian named Lee Min-Ho, "rangaku was based on the contents of natural science as a product of western society in the pre-modern age, that was distinguished from feudal thought and spirit…"[7], and contained the concept of *modernity* in itself including the reformation of the traditional society. In this historical background, not only astronomy (heliocentric theory etc), geography, biology, medicine with scientific instruments such as world map, telescope, globe, and clock, but other beneficial and practical knowledge for the real life were also introduced to Japan.

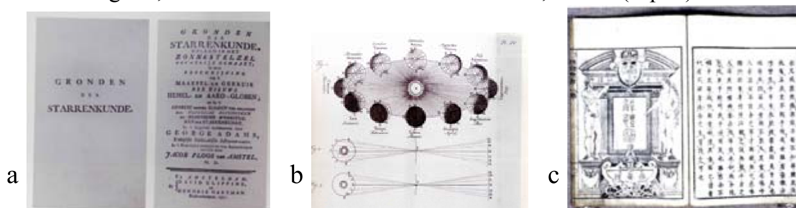
---

5) Ibid.

6) Oka Yasumasa [岡 泰正]: “In Search of Modernity of Visual Perception”, in: *The 18th-19th Century Japan…*, op. cit., pp. 16-17.(국문 번역 제목, 「視覺의 近代를 찾아서 – 日本 洋風畵 小史」, 『근대 일본이 본 서양』)

7) Lee Min-Ho [이민호]: *History of Cultural Conflict and Trade between Far East and Western World*, Paju, 2009, p. 218.(원제, 『동서양 문화교류와 충돌의 역사』)

[Figure 1] Western science books introduced to Japan in the 18th century
a <New Celestial and Terrestial Globes>, 1770 (Amsterdam)
b Illustration on the revolving of sun and planets, 1770 (Amsterdam)
c Rangaku, the first book of western medicine, 1774 (Japan)



[Figure 2] Scientific instruments introduced to Japan in the 17~18th century
a World map, 1664 (Amsterdam)[8]
b Telescope, late 18th century (Holland)



Among the aforementioned scientific instruments, the world map brought a significant turning point of the previously acknowledged East Asia-centered view of the world in Japan by suggesting the vast outside world in East Asia. In addition, the telescope was an instrument that observed the universe for the first time in East Asia. Both instruments had an important meaning since they greatly widened the visual field of East Asians in the 18th century and provided them an opportunity to understand the broad 'other world'.

---

8) This map was manufactured by the Dutch cartographer, Joan Blaeu (1596-1673), and released in 1648 in Amsterdam (1st edition) with the title <Nova et Accuratissima Terrarum Orbis Tabula>.

2-2. Influx of the Peep-box

The peep-boxes had been introduced to Japan since the early 18th century from both China and Holland. Although it was uncertain from when they began to appear in Japan, several researchers recorded that the peep-boxes could be traced since the late 1710s. According to a researcher of the U. S. named Richard Balzer, the very early peep-box in Japan dated back up to 1718:

> By 1718 there is commentary in Japan that, "One must see the devlish pleasure of the peeping machine for a sen (1/100 a yen). One can have a thousand gold pieces worth of play." The Japanese connected many of these early machines with the West, and particularly Holland, referring to the optiques as 'Holland Machines' and the prints as 'Red Hair Ukiyoe'.[9)]

In relatively recent paper in 2005, a Japanese researcher of the optical instruments in Edo-period, Maki Fukuoka mentioned, similarly like Balzer's opinion, that "the device was available in Japan as early as 1717"[10)]. Besides, it was said that the peep-boxes from China were imported earlier than from Holland.

After European peep-boxes were introduced to China before 1750, peep-boxes and their pictures began to be manufactured at Suzhou [蘇州, 江蘇省]. According to a Japanese art historian named Oka Yasmasa [岡泰正], these Chinese peep-boxes and pictures made after European models were delivered to Kyoto [京都] between 1751 and 1764 via the Chinese trade office [Tang-kan, 唐館][11)] in Nagasaki. The 'real' European

9) R. Balzer: *Peepshows: A Visual History*, New York, 1998, p. 21. The source of the cited sentences: Kobe Museum Catalog, Kobe, 1984, p. 9.

10) Maki Fukuoka: "Contextualising the Peep-box in Tokugawa Japan", in: *Early Popular Visual Culture*, Vol 3. No. 1 (May, 2005), p. 17.

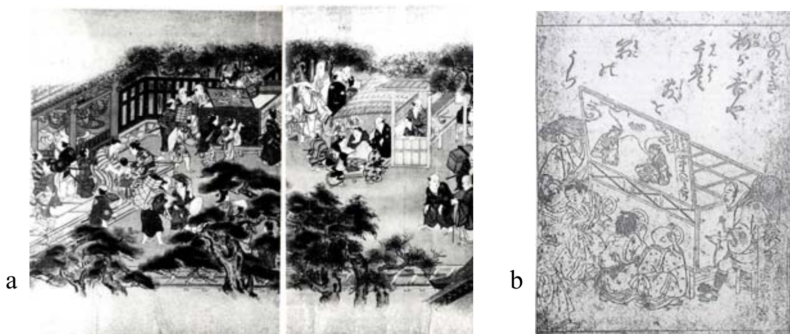
11) Oka Yasumasa [岡 泰正]: "Ukie and Megane-e", in: *The 18th-19th Century Japan*⋯, op. cit., p. 113.(국문 번역 제목, 「우키에(浮繪)와 메가네에(眼鏡繪)」,

peep-boxes were imported in 1755 through the Dutch trade office [Ran-kan, 蘭館] in Nagasaki, and it is assumed that they had been actively introduced since 1759; in addition, the peep-boxes from Holland were appreciated as the viewing device of high quality.[12)]

Based on these facts concerning the two routes of the peep-boxes, it was indicated that the China-made peep-boxes were imported from the early 1750s and the European peep-boxes were introduced from 1760. It is remarkable that the influx time of the peep-boxes in Japan was coincidentally included in the prime of the peep-boxes in Europe between the 1740s and 1800s when they mostly flourished in Europe. The two figures below show the earlier peep-boxes in Japan between 1730s and 1750s.

[Figure 3] The early Peep-boxes in Japan

a ca. 1730 b ca. 1755



a b

The picture a that is part of a handscroll around 1730 depicts a large peep-box and viewers in the Asakusa temple in Edo (Tokyo), according to the book, *The Lens within the Heart* of Timon Screech, a British researcher of the optical instruments and culture in later Edo-period.[13)] The picture

『근대 일본이 본 서양』)

12) Oka Yasumasa [岡 泰正]: “In Search of Modernity of Visual Perception”, op. cit., p. 17.

b, a woodbloc print by Ishikawa Toyonobu [石川豊信 1711-85], is a “market scene” with a peep-box in mid 1750s where several peoples are gathered around the device with triple peeping lenses and two women are operating pictures.[14] From these pictures we can notice that many viewers were looking into the lenses of the new device.

Since the mid 1750s, the peep-boxes attracted an interest of many people in Kyoto followed by in Tokyo. Hence, Maki Fukuoka maintains that the peep-boxes “became an increasingly popular segment of the entertainment culture in major cities of Edo (Tokyo), Kyoto, Osaka and Owari (Nagoya) from the 1760s to the early 1830s.[15] Started as a visual device of high value for rich class, the peep-boxes had been spread in a wider range of classes, and then, Japanese manufacturers began to produce them *in Japanese style* for domestic consumers. The ‘Japanese peep-boxes’ made in this manner were called as ‘megane’ [眼鏡] or ‘nozoki megane’ [覗眼鏡] etc. and the pictures for the box as ‘megane-e’ [眼鏡繪].

3. The Peep-boxes and their Pictures in Edo-Period

3-1. Types of the Peep-boxes

This section intends to examine the types of the peep-boxes that were imported and produced in Japan. However, it is difficult to suppose the European peep-boxes between 1750 and 1770 in their early phase because they are currently not preserved. On the other hand, it is feasible to access to the peep-boxes and pictures manufactured in Japan after 1770s. Hereupon, it is necessary to briefly mention the peep-boxes in the 18th century Europe in order to verify what types were imitated or newly created in Japan.

13) T. Screech: *The Lens within the Heart,* Honoulul, 2002, p. 123.
14) Th. Ganz: *Die Welt im Kasten,* Zürich, 1994, p. 84.
15) M. Fukuoka: “Contextualising the Peep-box in Tokugawa Japan”, op. cit., p. 17.

In Europe, there were two major types of the peep-boxes. The first one was the *reflex type* [反射式] with a lens and a mirror set that viewed the reflected image on the mirror inside the box, and the second one was the *direct viewing type* [直視式] that directly viewed the image inside the box without mirror.[16] In the figure 4 the three forms of the reflex type are suggested.

[Figure 4] European peep-boxes of the reflex type

a, b ca. 1750, Germany c ca. 1750, Holland d ca. 1790-1800, Holland



The above reflex type, a-b and c that were widely used in Europe are not currently extant in Japan according to my current investigation. It is not obvious whether either the mirror-reflex types were not introduced to Japan or disappeared without being manufactured due to difficult viewing after being introduced. What is currently preserved in Kobe City Museum is the d that one directly views the image reflected on the mirror from the outside without box and is so to say, an 'open form'. It was called as zograscope in English that was more widlely known as L'optique in France and Holland.

---

16) Concerning this type of categorization please refer to the following literatures: R. Balzer: *A Visual History*, pp. 28-31. G. Füsslin etc: *Der Guckkasten*, pp. 15-17. Oka Yasumasa [岡 泰正]: "After-Experience of the 3D World Edo-men [江戸人] Surprised", "Miniature 3D Television of the 18th Century that included the real Ukiyo-e", in: *The Visual Revolution*⋯, p. 27, 29.(국문 번역 제목,「에도인(江戸人)이 놀란 3D 세계를 추체험!」,『視覺革命! 異國と出繪った江戸繪畵』)

[Figure 5] L’optique (zograscope), 1780s-90s, France



[Figure 6] Ukiyo-e, 1765-70[17]



L'optique on the left was called as ‘nozoki megane’ [覗のぞき眼鏡] in Japan[18]. Such a device was told "to be introduced to Japan by ships at least between 1764 and 1772”[19] and also "to exclusively view megane-e [眼鏡繪]”[20]. The woodbloc print on the right is the work by a well-known ukiyo-e [浮世繪] artist named Suzuki Harunobu [鈴木春信 1725-70] in 1765-70. It depicts how the girl views and enjoys the picture of the device. Thus, ukiyo-e of that time was the valuable cultural document since it recorded the situation of how the peep-box was accepted and enjoyed at that time.

The form of the more widely and generally used peep-boxes both in Europe and Japan was the ‘direct viewing type’ which was called as ‘‘nozoki bako’ [覗のぞき箱子] in Japan. It is because this type was more convenient for viewer to look into pictures in the box through a magnifying lens.

---

17) This is the color woodbloc print by Suzuki Harunobu [鈴木春信 1725－1770] and one of the series <Damagawa River of Goya>[高野の玉川]. in: *The 18th-19th Century Japan*…, op. cit., p. 124; *The Visual Revolution*…, op. cit., p. 26.

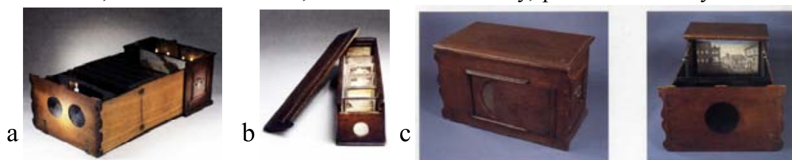
18) Oka Yasumasa [岡 泰正]: “After-Experience of the 3D World Edo-men Surprised”, in: *The Visual Revolution*…, op. cit., p. 27.

19) Ibid.

20) Ibid.

Moreover, this type could provide the day & night effect of the image using bright-dark lighting, which enhanced visual pleasure even more. The next figure shows three kinds of this type produced in Holland etc.

[Figure 7] European peep-boxes of the direct viewing type
a ca. 1720, Holland b ca. 1760, Holland c 18th century, production country unknown



This direct-viewing type was easily accepted in Japan, and then, slightly modified forms were made since 1770s. Below are several peep-boxes of this type produced in Japan and related ukiyo-e works are suggested.

[Figure 8] Japanese peep-boxes of the direct viewing type and ukiyo-e in the late 18th century[21)]



The peep-box a was made with four legs and in a particular structure that inserted pictures into the side wall instead of the back of the box. In the book of Kobe City Museum, it is only described as “the device of viewing megane-e”[22)]. Hence, it is not possible to know more precisely

21) This is a color woodbloc print by Kitakawa Utamaro [喜多川歌麿 1753-1806]. The orignal title is <Woman looking into a picture-show box>[婦人相學十体かはゆらし相]. In: *The 18th-19th Century Japan…,* op. cit., p. 129.

about this peep-box; the production year and place etc are not exactly described. The peep-box b also with unknown year of production is a hand-carried ‘small portable type’. So to say, it is a mobile peep-box that one could see and show the peep-box pictures everywhere. This miniature type was comparable with an ‘optical toy’ produced later in the 19th century Europe and also was one of the Japan’s own models.

The picture c, ukiyo-e, produced in 1792-93, depicts how a pretty girl views the inside of the portable peep-box. According to the explanation of the source book of Kobe City Museum, it is told that "a girl with beautiful hair style watched the scene with a bridge supposed as the Ryogoku-bridge in Tokyo [兩國橋, 東京] opening her left eye a little bit”[23]. Thanks to this ukiyo-e work, “an important proof of indicating the existence of the miniature toy,”[24] in 1790s, we are currently able to presume the past situation related to the peep-boxes.

The next direct viewing type (figure 9a), made with much effort by coloring the wood, was a "device equipped with uki-e drawing boards”[25]. *Uki-e [浮繪]* indicates the pictures (mostly hand-made drawing/watercolor, copperplate/woodbloc print) that were produced in later 18th century. It was strongly influenced by the western one-point-linear perspective. In the beginning period (1750s to 1770s), uki-e was used without distinction with the substantial name of the peep-box’s picture, megane-e [眼鏡繪].

---

22) Lee Joong-Hee: “Situation of Accepting Foreign Painting Styles in the Edo-period”, in: *The 18th-19th Century Japan*…, op. cit., p. 31.(원제, 이중희, 「에도시대 외래화풍의 수용상황」,『근대 일본이 본 서양』)

23) Oka Yasumasa [岡 泰正]: “Utamaro’s Portrait Ukiyo-e proving the Fashion of the Ultra-small size Nozoki Megane”, in: *The Visual Revolution*…, op. cit., p. 28.(국문 번역 제목,「超小型 노조키메가네(のぞき眼鏡)의 유행을 증명하는 우타마로(歌磨)의 인물화」,『視覺革命! 異国と出繪った江戸繪畫』)

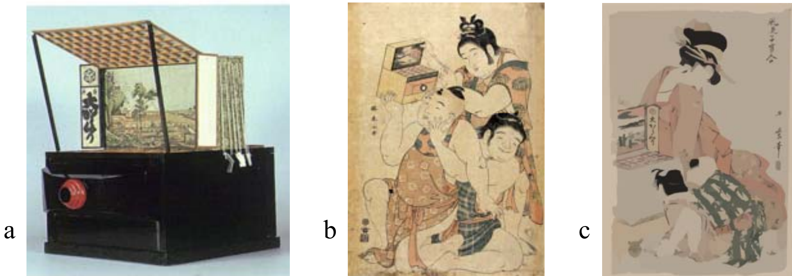
24) Ibid.

25) The Uki-e works installed in this box were the woodbloc prints by Utakawa Toyoharu [歌川豊春 1735-1814] and Kitao Masayoshi [北尾政美 1764-1824]. In: *The 18th-19th Century Japan*…, op. cit., p. 128.

In addition, the uki-e pictures were inserted into the peep-box and later, uki-e was developed to *ukiyo-e [浮世繪]* that was well known as the representative art (mostly color woodbloc print) in the Edo-period after about 1800s.

The black peep-box (figure 9a), produced between 1770 and 1790, had an additional function known to be a "equipment of viewing pictures in the box by dropping them and pulling the string attached to the box up and down"[26]. As an advanced form, this type had a few advantages to continuously show multiple pictures and also to represent the bright-dark images from the top to the bottom of the picture. This is the same function of day & night effect in the European peep-boxes.

[Figure 9] Japanese peep-box of the direct viewing type and ukiyo-e
a peep-box, ca. 1772-89 b ukiyo-e, ca. 1790, c ukiyo-e, ca. 1800



According to the source book of Kobe City Museum, this black peep-box was "not actually used but utilized as a sophisticated toy after imitating and reducing the size of what was used for the promotion at that time", and was "a toy used by the working class"[27]. The uki-e on the box was

26) Oka Yasumasa [岡 泰正]: "Miniature 3D Television of the 18th Century that included the real Ukiyo-e, in: *The Visual Revolution*…, op. cit., p. 29.(국문 번역 제목,「實物의 우키요에(浮世繪)를 끌어들인 18세기의 미니어처 3D 텔레비전」,『視覺革命！異国と出繪った江戶繪畵』)

27) Ibid.

made by Utagawa Toyoharu [歌川豊春 1735-1814] who was a well-known uki-e/megane-e artist at that time, and the title of it, <Holland Snowy Scenery>[阿蘭陀雪見之図],[28] was written on the right side of the box. Furthermore, six more pictures were installed in the box by another artist. Therefore, one could successively view eleven pictures with lighting effect depicting the attractive landscapes in Kyoto and Tokyo, so-called, the ‘famous site uki-e’ [名所浮繪].[29] Hereupon, it is obvious to confirm that one could enjoy viewing a series of pictures with lighting effect through the Japanese peep-boxes produced between 1770s and 1790s.

The two ukiyo-es above express a scene enjoying pictures with the Japanese peep-box of direct viewing type. The ukiyo-e b[30] is a color woodbloc print by Kasugawa Shunzan [勝川春山 1726?-1793] produced around 1790. In this print, a woman standing behind two boys is pulling the string of the small peep-box, and two boys are viewing with great pleasure rotating the device in turn. The ukiyo-e c[31] is a color woodbloc print by Kitagawa Utamaro [喜多川歌麿 1753-1806] around 1800 in which a seemingly mother is pulling the string up and down, while two children are absorbed in looking into the box.

Thus, the three Japanese peep-boxes (megane) and three ukiyo-es enable to assume the situation of production and reception of the device in later 18th century. At that time in Japan, the peep-boxes were manufactured in various forms and attracted the interest of wide range of people including not only the rich but also the working class as well as juveniles and adults, men and women. In this manner, it showed that many of them delightfully enjoyed viewing visual images through the device. Hereupon, it can be maintained that the peep-box was accepted as a popular entertainment

28) Ibid.

29) Ibid.

30) This work is ‘untitled’ [無題]. R. Balzer: *A Visual History*, New York, 1998, p. 60.

31) No title of this work is suggested. Th. Ganz: *Die Welt im Kasten,* p. 74.

in the Japanese society of the 18th century, and thereby, the visual culture based on the peep-box was widely diffused in later 18th century, like in most European countries of that period.

3-2. Production and Dissemination of the Peep-box Pictures

In later 18th century in Japan, the peep-box pictures were actively produced, as the peep-boxes flourished at that time. In Europe, the peep-box picture, called as ‘vue d’optique’ in French, simply meant the ‘view/picture of optique.’ Similarly, the peep-box picture was called as ‘megane-e’ [眼鏡繪] or ‘nozoki megane-e’ [のぞき眼鏡繪] just as the meaning of ‘peep-box picture’ literally or ‘picture inserted to megane’ in Japan. Below is the figure 9 showing several European peep-box pictures in the 18th century in order to compare them with the Japanese megane-e.

[Figure 10] European peep-box pictures in the 18th century
a Hague, ca. 1700 (with day & night effect) b Amsterdam, ca. 1760
c Rome, 18th Century d New York, ca. 1780 (with lighting effect)



The pictures a, b, and c represent the city landscapes (veduta) with large-scale events, and the picture d depicts a big fire occurred in the city (New York) with a dramatic change of lighting. Thus, showing gorgeous scenes or large-scale natural disasters in many of the regions in western countries, the peep-boxes stimulated the interest and curiosity of viewers. Afterwards, the peep-boxes presented sceneries of distant and exotic countries (India, Africa etc.) from the European point of view. As a result, “the pictorial world of the peep-box as colorful conglomeration of events and landscapes”[32] expanded the visual field of viewers contributing to

the *Enlightment* of the people prior to the modern period.

In terms of aesthetics, the peep-box pictures contained the linear perspective with one vanishing point around the middle of the picture (the central perspective). Actually, the English term of the peep-box picture, ‘perspective view’, indicates the reflection of the linear and central perspective that were prevailed in the field of arts in the 18th century of Europe. Pictures in a long and dark peep box, placed in the shape of stage settings of the play, were “expressed in lightly distorted and a little bit extended perspective”[33] and emphasized the illusionality of the pictures. The pictures of peep-box were not the artwork of highly recognized painters but merely practical works to be seen in the device. Therefore, the method of engraving was usually used to produce many pictures with cheap price. In the beginning, the copper plate print, and then, the woodbloc print was preferred.

Like in Europe, most of the Japanese peep-box pictures, megane-e, were produced by the copperplate print, and later, by the color woodbloc print. However, megane-e was not produced by entirely imitating the European models in the beginning (1750s). Because the peep-box pictures produced at Suzou [蘇州, 江蘇省] in China were introduced earlier than the European pictures, and these ‘Chinese peep-box pictures’ influenced on the early megane-e in Japan. Besides, Dutch/European peep-boxes later imported and pictures made by the copperplate and colored with hand were the highly valued items. Hence, the woodbloc prints and hand-painted pictures made in China were generally used as the substitute.[34]

In this background, the Chinese peep-box pictures based on the traditional Chinese/East Asian painting [中國畵/東洋畵] were influential in the early

---

32) D. Rauschgatt: “Guckkasten – Miniaturen der Schaulust”, in: E. Kieninger・D. Rauschgatt (ed): *Die Mobilisierung des Blicks,* Wien, 1995, p. 24.

33) Th. Kaufhold: *Camera Obscura*, Essen, 2006, p. 36.

34) Oka Yasumasa [岡 泰正]: “In Search of Modernity of Visual Perception”, op. cit., p. 17.

megane-e. This phenomenon is clearly revealed in the works by Maruyama Okyo [円山応挙 1733－1795], the first generation artist who drew megane-e in Kyoto [京都] in 1750s. The pictures below are his hand-painted megane-e [肉筆 眼鏡繪].

[Figure 11] Maruyama Okyo's megane-e in 1750s
a <Shizo Bridge with Surroundings>[四條橋之居] b <Motels in Gion>[祇園御旅所]



The megane-e a and b depict the downtowns in Kyoto. These pictures show that the western one-point-linear perspective was roughly applied on the ground of the Chinese/East Asian traditional painting. Hereafter, so-called the 'Chinese style megane-e' was largely distributed in Kyoto in 1750s.

The 'western style megane-e' was realized by artists in the next generation. One of them was Utagawa Toyoharu [歌川豊春 1735-1814] who worked in Edo and produced megane-e and uki-e as well in 1760s (he is also the artist of the uki-e installed in the black peep-box, the figure 9a.). As Toyoharu was able to access to the European peep-box pictures directly imported from Holland, the perspective was correctly and thoroughly applied on his megane-e/uki-e that represented European city landscapes (veduta) like Florence, Venice and Rome etc.

[Figure 12] Toyoharu‘s megane-e <Holland Grand Canal>, 1764-89



[Figure 13] Visentini’s copperplate print <Grand Canal>, 1742



Toyoharu’s megane-e on the left made with the woodbloc print, <Holland Grand Canal>,35) was based on the copperplate print <Grand Canal>36) on the right side created by the Italian painter named Antonio Visentini (1688-1782).37) Nonetheless, Toyoharu’s megane-e was not completely made by imitating the Italian copperplate. It rather added trees between the buildings on the left and reduced the shadow of the gondola and buildings on the right side. Therefore, it is confirmed that he presented ‘simplified’ depiction while trying to realize *japanization* of the original European picture.38) Hence, it is noticeable how the megane-e artist in the second generation named Toyoharu slightly transformed and somehow modified the European peep box pictures in the period, 1760s to 1780s. Such Toyoharu’s attempt is seen as an advance towards the development of the Japanese peep-box pictures.

35) The real title is <Uki-e Holland. Grand Canal with Rings of Francaino Bell>[浮繪 紅毛ﾌﾗｿｶｨﾉ溱万里鐘響図]. Ibid., p. 17.

36) The real title is <Il Canal Grande verso nord⁻est della Croce fino a San Geremial>.

37) This copperplate print was also made after the original oil painting by the well-known landscape painter of Venice in the 18th century Italy, Antonio Canaletto (1697-1768).

38) Oka Yasumasa [岡 泰正]: “Appearance of Venizia’s Grand Canal in Ukiyo-e of Edo-period”, in: *The Visual Revolution*…, p. 62.(국문 번역 제목,「베네치아의 大運河가 에도(江戶)의 우키에(浮繪)에 등장」,『視覺革命! 異國と出繪った江戶繪畫』)

Another noticeable point in Toyoharu's megane-e is that he titled his work as <Holland … Grand Canal>, even though he obviously drew the landscape of Venice in Italy. This is because "in Edo-period all the novelties as western things were reconized as 'Holland's' [阿蘭陀]"[39]. Accordingly every western images appeared as Holland's at that time in Japan.

Afterwards, Toyoharu took one more step forward producing the megane-e that expressed splendid landscapes in Japan between 1780s and 1800s. Here, it is remarkable that the pictures of Japanese resources were added in the western views. Toyoharu's next megane-e made by the color woodbloc print (figure 14) depicts the night street at a brothel area named Sakai-cho [堺町] in Tokyo. In this megane-e, the lighting effect was possible by the bright-dark transition of the lanterns in the hands of people on the street.[40]

[Figure 14] Toyoharu's megane-e <Sakai-cho in Tokyo>, 1780s-1800s



Considering this megane-e (1780s-1800s) with the aforementioned pictures of the black peep-box (1770s, figure 9a), it is evident that 'Japanese peep-box pictures' with domestic attractions had begun to be produced and utilized since 1770s. This indicates that these Japanese peep-box pictures co-existed with them in the western images since 1780s, and people could

39) Oka Yasumasa [岡 泰正]: "Imaginative Picture of Ruined Rome depicted in Ukiyo-e", in: *The Visual Revolution…*, p. 63.(국문 번역 제목,「우키에(浮繪)에 묘사된 로마 폐허의 상상도」,『視覺革命! 異國と出繪った江戶繪畵』)

40) Th. Ganz: *Die Welt im Kasten*, p. 85.

enjoy diverse views on Japan and Europe. In this development, it is remarkable that the *process of japanization* of the peep-box had been developed since 1770s and the visual culture based on the peep-boxes had settled down in Japan only approximately 20 years after being introduced. This can be acknowledged as a very rapid change.

4. Cultural and Artistic Changes after Influx of the Peep-boxes

Japan was able to absorb and accept the western science and culture while trading mainly with Holland since 1609 during the entire Edo-period. New scientific knowledge and instruments of the Scientific Revolution in Europe could be introduced under the name of rangaku [蘭學], and the peep-boxes imported from 1710s caused to develop the *culture of viewing pictures through optical instruments* for the first time in Japan. As the peep-boxes became the device of popular entertainment, the peep-boxes and their pictures began to be produced in Japan since 1770s, and the Japanese peep-boxes with pictures, megane-e [眼鏡繪]/uki-e [浮繪] depicting domestic views, could be considered as the process of *japanization of the western visual culture* brought with the peep-box. In this visual culture, the three phenomena were noteworthy in the culture and art of the 18th century Japan.

First of all, the peep-boxes opened the first phase of modern visual culture in Japan as they became a popular device for the visual entertainment. Considering that the photography arrived in Japan in 1840s, a period approximately only 40 years after the peep-box was flourished, it could be regarded as the preliminary stage before the beginning of the modern visual culture.

Secondly, the peep-box pictures played a role of an *educative media* functioning as a ‘window to the unknown world’, Europe, by showing

many pictures on European cities with wonderful views and events. However, diverse images on European cities were not differentiated in each country but were entirely recognized as 'Holland's images.' Obviously, the reason for that must be related to lack of knowledge on the western world in the 18th century Japan. As a result, it is said that "by spreading the 'Holland's views', famous sites in Europe were permeated into the eyes of common people and at the same time … people purchased these imagined *the west* they had never been"[41].

Thirdly, due to the European peep-box pictures the artistic changes are noticable in paintings and prints. The western one-point-linear perspective, although it was not firstly introduced through the European peep-boxes, was widely accepted in the Japanese peep-box pictures. And as the demand of the peep-box pictures was increased in later 18th century Japan, the picture production by the copperplate and multi-color woodbloc print, was facilitated. Therefore, it is not deniable that the peep-box pictures contributed to development of the print in the 18th century.

In conclusion, it is clear to maintain that Japan achieved successfully the first phase of the modern visual culture after the influx of the peep-boxes from China and Holland. Furthermore, this stage on the development of the visual culture can be understood as a cornerstone before the advent of photography and cinema in the mid and end 19th century.

41) Oka Yasumasa [岡 泰正]: "Spreading Holland Images", in: *The Visual Revolution*…, p. 64.(국문 번역 제목,「流布되는 '오란다'(阿蘭陀)의 이미지, 『視覺革命! 異国と出繪った江戸繪畵』)

❖ Bibliography

이민호,『동서양 문화교류와 충돌의 역사』, 파주: 한국학술정보, 2009.
이중희,「에도시대 외래화풍의 수용상황」,『근대 일본이 본 서양』, 28-33. (서울대미술관 전시회 도록, 日韓對譯, 고베시립미술관 소장품 전시회 2011. 4. 20.~5. 29.)
가쓰모리 노리코(勝盛典子),「에도시대의 나가사키 무역」,『근대 일본이 본 서양』, 36-37.
神戸市立博物館 編,『神戸市立博物館で樂しむ歷史と美』(고베시립박물관에서 즐기는 역사와 美), 神戸: 神戸市立博物館, 2013.
九州國立博物館 編,『視覺革命! 異國と出繪った江戸繪畵』(神戸市立博物館 名品展), 九州: 九州國立博物館, 2013.
오카 야스마사(岡 泰正),「視覺의 近代를 찾아서 – 日本 洋風畵 小史」,『근대 일본이 본 서양』, 13-19.
__________________,「우키에(浮繪)와 메가네에(眼鏡繪)」,『근대 일본이 본 서양』, 113-119.
__________________,「에도인(江戸人)이 놀란 3D 세계를 추체험!」, 오상현 역, 九州國立博物館 編,『視覺革命! 異國と出繪った江戸繪畵』[시각혁명, 이국과 만난 에도 우키요에(浮世繪)], 九州: 九州國立博物館, 2013, 27.
__________________,「實物의 우키요에(浮世繪)를 끌어들인 18세기의 미니어처 3D 텔레비전」, 오상현 역,『視覺革命! 異國と出繪った江戸繪畵』, 29.
__________________,「超小型 노조키메가네(のぞき眼鏡)의 流行을 증명하는 우타마로(歌磨)의 인물화」, 오상현 역,『視覺革命! 異國と出繪った江戸繪畵』, 28.
__________________,「베네치아의 大運河가 에도(江戸)의 우키에(浮繪)에 등장」, 오상현 역,『視覺革命! 異國と出繪った江戸繪畵』, 62.]
__________________,「우키에(浮繪)에 묘사된 로마 폐허의 상상도」, 오상현 역,『視覺革命! 異國と出繪った江戸繪畵』, 63.
__________________,「流布되는 ‘오란다’(阿蘭陀)의 이미지, 오상현 역,『視覺革命! 異國と出繪った江戸繪畵』, 64.
BALZER, Richard, *Peepshows: A Visual History*, New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1998.
DEWITZ, Bodo von, “Eine mobile Bilderwelt. Der Guckkasten als Bildmedium der Aufklärung im 18. Jahrhundert”, in: B. von Dewitz・Werner Nekes (eds): *Ich sehe was, was Du nicht siehst!,* Museum Ludwig Köln/Göttingen: Steidl Verlag, 2002, pp. 78-85.
FÜSSLIN, Georg・W. Nekes etc, *Der Guckkasten. Einblick-Durchblick-Ausblick,* Stuttgart: Füsslin Verlag, 1985.
FUKUOKA, Maki, “Contextualising the Peep-box in Tokugawa Japan”, in: *Early Popular Visual Culture* (London), Vol 3. No. 1 (May, 2005), pp. 17-42.

GANZ, Thomas, *Die Welt im Kasten. Von der Camera Obscura zur Audiovision,* Zürich: Verlag Neue Züricher Zeitung, 1994.

HICK, Ulrike, Geschichte der optischen Medien, München: Wilheml Fink Verlag, 1999.

KAUFHOLD, Thomas, *Camera Obscura. Museum zur Vorgeschichte des Films,* Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2006.

RAUSCHGATT, Doris, “Guckkasten - Miniaturen der Schaulust”, in: Ernst Kieninger・D. Rauschgatt (eds), *Die Mobilisierung des Blicks,* Wien: PVS Verleger, 1995, pp. 22-27.

SCREECH, Timon, The Lens within the Heart. The Western Scientific Gaze and Popular Imagery in Later Edo Japan, Honolulu: University of Hawai Press, 2002.

Sources of Figures

[Figure 1] Western science books introduced to Japan and Japanese translation in the 18th Century

a Treatise Describing and explaning the construction and use of new celestial and terrestial globes (Amsterdam, 1770), 원제, 星學原始之書,『근대 일본이 본 서양』, 43.

b Illustration on the revolving of sun and planets in the upper Book,『근대 일본이 본 서양』, p. 43.

c Rangaku, First book on western medicine (Japan, 1774), 원제, 蘭學. 洋醫學書,『神戸市立博物館で樂しむ歷史と美』, 72.

[Figure 2] Scientific instruments introduced to Japan in the 17th~18th Century

a World Map (1664, Amsterdam), Photo of Kobe City Museum.

b Telescope (late 18th Century, Holland),『神戸市立博物館で樂しむ歷史と美』, 72.

[Figure 3] The early Peep-boxes in Japan

a ca. 1730, Unsigned, detail of Asakusa handscroll from the series <Amusement in Edo>, British Museum, in: *The Lens within the Heart,* pp. 122-123.

b ca. 1755, woodbloc print by Ishikawa Toyonobu [石川豊信 1711-85], in: *Die Welt im Kasten,* p. 84.

[Figure 4] European peep-boxes of the reflex type

a, b ca. 1750, Germany, in: *Die Welt im Kasten,* p. 64.

c ca. 1750, Holland, in: *A Visual History,* p. 23.

d ca. 1790s-1800s, L'optique, Holland, in: *Ich sehe was…,* p. 111.

[Figure 5] L'optique (zograscope), 1780s-90s, France, 『근대 일본이 본 서양』, 125.

[Figure 6] Ukiyo-e, ca. 1765-70, 『근대 일본이 본 서양』, 124; 『視覺革命! 異國と出繪った江戸繪畵』, 26.

[Figure 7] European peep-boxes of the direct viewing type
a ca. 1720, Holland, in: *Ich sehe was…,* p. 92.
b ca. 1760, Holland, in: *Ich sehe was…,* p. 111.
c 18th Century, production country unknown, in: *A Visual History,* p. 29.

[Figure 8] Japanese peep-boxes of the direct viewing type and Ukiyo-e
a Peep-box with four legs, in: 『근대 일본이 본 서양』, 124.
b Miniature peep-box, in: http://w00.middlebury.edu/ID085A/Edo/gallery3.html
c Ukiyo-e by Kitagawa Utamaro [喜多川歌麿 1753-1806], 원제, <婦人相學十体かはゆらし相>(Woman looking into a picture-show box), 『근대 일본이 본 서양』, 129.

[Figure 9] Japanese peep-box of the direct viewing type and Ukiyo-e
a Peep-box, 1771-89, 『근대 일본이 본 서양』, 128; 『視覺革命! 異國と出繪った江戸繪畵』, 29.
b Ukiyo-e by Kasugawa Shunzan [勝川春山 1726?-1793], ca. 1790, 원제 표기 없음(Untitled), in: *A Visual History*, p. 60.
c Ukiyo-e by Kitagawa Utamaro [喜多川歌麿 1753-1806] ca. 1800, 원제 표기 없음, in: *Die Welt im Kasten,* p. 74.

[Figure 10] European peep-box pictures
a Den Haag, ca. 1700, in: *Ich sehe was…,* p. 91.
b Amsterdam, ca. 1760, in: *Der Guckkasten*, p. 35.
c Rome, 18th century, in: *A Visual History,* p. 35.
d New York, ca. 1780, in: *Der Guckkasten,* p. 35.

[Figure 11] Maruyama Okyo's megane-e in 1750s
a <Shizo Bridge with Surroundings>[四條橋之居], 『視覺革命! 異國と出繪った江戸繪畵』, 61.
b <Motel at Gion>[祇園御旅所], 『視覺革命! 異國と出繪った江戸繪畵』, 61.

[Figure 12] Toyoharu's meggane-e, color woodbloc print, <Holland Grand Canal>,

원제, <우키에 오란다 프란카이노 종소리가 울려퍼지는 대운하>(浮繪 紅毛ﾌﾗｿｶｨﾉ湊万里鐘響図), 1764-89,『근대 일본이 본 서양』, 17;『視覺革命! 異國と出繪った江戸繪畵』, 62.

[Figure 13] Visentini's copperplate print <Grand Canal>(the original title: Il Canal Grande verso nord – est della Croce fino a San Geremial), 1742,『근대 일본이 본 서양』, 17;『視覺革命! 異國と出繪った江戸繪畵』, 64.

[Figure 14] Toyoharu's megane-e, color woodbloc print, <A Brothel Area at Sakai-cho in Tokyo>, in: *Die Welt im Kasten,* p. 85.

Global Utopia and Local Anxiety on the Stage of the Korean Musical*

Sung Hee Choi
(Ewha Womans University)

▌Abstract ▌

The purpose of this essay is three-fold: to trace the genealogy of the Korean musical, which ever since its inception in the 1960s has been seeking to modernize Korean theater with Broadway as a constant role model; to investigate how the national and the global conflict and are conflated in the form of the Korean musical in the process of its (dis)identification with Broadway; and to examine how its intercultural translations reveal and reflect the dilemma and ambivalence posed by globalization in our era. Drawing on Richard Dyer's signature article "Entertainment and Utopia," I analyze how the Korean musical manifests and conduits competing utopian impulses of Korean/Global audiences. I also attempt to problematize the notion of Broadway musical as the Superior Other which implies a global hegemony that does not, in fact, exist because the boundary between the global and the local as well as the power dynamics of global culture are not fixed but constantly moving and changing.

Today's musical scene in Korea shows interesting reversals from the 1990s, when Korean producers were eager to debut on Broadway and impress American audiences. Korean producers no longer look up to Broadway as a final destination; instead they want to make Seoul a new Broadway. They import Broadway musicals and turn them into Korean shows. The glamor of Broadway is no longer the

* The work was supported by the Ewha Global Top 5 Grant 2011 of Ewha Womans University.

main attraction of musicals in Korea. What young audiences look for most is the glamor of K-pop idols and utopian feelings of abundance, energy, intensity, transparency and community, which they can experience live in the musical with their favorite stars right in front of their eyes.
In conclusion, I delve into the complex dynamics of recent Korean musicals with Thomas Friedman's theory of Globalization 3.0 as reference. The binary formula of Global/America versus Local/Korea cannot be applied to the dynamic and intercultural musical scene of today. Globalization is not a uniform phenomenon but rather a multifold process of global domination and dissemination, in which the global and the local conflict and are conflated constantly. As this study tries to illuminate, the Korean musical has evolved in a huge net of interdependences between the global and the local with a range of sources, powers and influences.

Key Words
Korean musical, Broadway musical, utopianism, local anxiety, cultural translation, Globalization 3.0

1. Broadway Musical, the Superior Other?

Hyunjung Lee, who has published several articles on Korean musicals, argues that Korean producers have been trying to emulate the Broadway musical as the superior ‘Other’ and internalize its features as the yardstick of Korea’s cultural capacity and global achievement. The central irony in her argument consists in the fact that the ultimate goal of Korea’s global aspiration is to prove the inherent value of its own national culture. The global, the mythical tool of achieving national greatness, constantly interacts and overlaps with the national(Lee 2012, 321). Lee speculates that Korean musical producers’ imitation of Broadway results from the nation’s lack of global presence as well as its deeply held desire to create a global identity. This might have been more accurate when Korea first became obsessed with the urge to globalize in the 1990s and 2000s, but now, with the phenomenal success of the Korean Wave and K-pop worldwide,

her analysis has become somewhat outdated. In fact, since the production of *The Last Empress*(1995) and *Nanta*(1997), the two major Broadway-style Korean productions Lee investigates, there have been no significant efforts to emulate Broadway, which itself has suffered since the beginning of America's economic crisis. Lee's rather formulaic notion of the Broadway Musical—the Superior Other—implies a stable global hegemony that does not, in fact, exist, as the boundary between the global and the local as well as the power dynamics of global culture are not fixed but constantly moving and changing.

The aim of this essay is three-fold: 1) to trace the genealogy of the Korean musical which, ever since its inception in the 1960s, has been seeking to modernize Korean theater, with Broadway as a role model, 2) to investigate how the national and the global conflict and are conflated in the form of the Korean musical in the process of its (dis)identification with Broadway, and 3) to examine how the intercultural translations in the Korean musical reveal and reflect the dilemmas and ambivalences posed by globalization in our era. Throughout the paper, drawing on Richard Dyer's signature article "Entertainment and Utopia," I will analyze how the Korean musical manifests and facilitates the competing utopian impulses of Korean/Global audiences.

2. The Musical and Utopia

In his article "Entertainment and Utopia," Richard Dyer maintains that musical genres offer audiences apparent remedies for or at least escapes from the problems that they face in life by offering "the image of something better."

> Two of the taken-for-granted descriptions of entertainment, as "escape" and as "wish-fulfillment," point to its central thrust, namely, utopianism.

> Entertainment offers the image of something better to escape into, or something we want deeply, which our day-to-day lives don't provide. Alternatives, hopes, wishes—these are the stuff of utopia, *the sense that things could be better, that something other than what is can be imagined and maybe realized*. (20, emphasis added)

He goes on to suggest that the utopian sensibilities inherent in musicals such as abundance (as opposed to scarcity), energy (as opposed to exhaustion), intensity (as opposed to dreariness), transparency (as opposed to manipulation) and community (as opposed to alienation) compensate for specific inadequacies in capitalist societies(26).

Dyer provides a valuable perspective that enables us to link what is often considered pure entertainment, such as a Broadway musical, with the very real contradictions of everyday life from which musicals help us to escape. He suggests that musicals can offer a utopian sensibility through style, gesture, song, and dance, which are proposed as solutions to the inadequacies and shortcomings we experience in our everyday reality. In this way, musicals, like myth, attempt to reflect/resolve contradictions via fantasy. His distinction between a treatise on utopia and a work that conveys a utopian sensibility (the way musicals convey emotive sensibilities) is especially apt: Musicals do not have to become didactic documentaries in order to raise philosophical, theoretical, or sociological questions. As a modern form of myth, musicals require us to use different critical frames and procedures to speculate upon their cultural meanings. Dyer maintains:

> Professional entertainment is the dominant agency for defining what entertainment is. This does not mean, however, that it *simply* reproduces and expresses patriarchal capitalism. There is the usual struggle between capital (the backers) and labor (the performers) over the control of the product ⋯ The fact that professional entertainment has been by and large conservative in this century should not blind us to the implicit struggle within it ⋯ In other words, show business's relationship to

> the demands of patriarchal capitalism is a complex one. Just as it does not simply 'give the people what they want' (since it actually defines those wants), so it does not simply reproduce unproblematically patriarchal-capitalist ideology. Indeed, it is precisely on seeming to achieve both these often opposed functions simultaneously that its survival largely depends. (20)

Unlike Thomas More's idea of utopia, however, musicals are not concerned with the presentation of defined utopian worlds. Instead, musicals rely on the senses and emotions of their audiences. They present what utopia would "feel" like rather than what it would "look" like. The feelings of abundance, energy, transparency and community that musicals project are the exact antithesis to scarcity, exhaustion, dreariness, manipulation or alienation caused by capitalism. Ironically, however, musicals heavily depend on the success of capitalism. As Dyer succinctly puts it, musicals "provide alternatives to capitalism which will be provided by capitalism"(29). Finally Dyer discusses three case studies to show that utopian forms of entertainment are not necessarily straightforward presentations of solutions to life's problems, for they contain contradictions within themselves.

Dyer's article reveals the workings of ideology within the seemingly uncomplicated, blatantly ideal theme of the musical. He not only charts how various societal inadequacies are addressed within the musical's depiction of utopia but also details the contradictions arising from the tension between conflicting utopian impulses within itself. By referencing major American musicals that place characters from minority groups at the center of attention and sympathy, Dyer highlights the important role women, Blacks, and gays have played in the development of the American musical. Yet the most fundamental subversion made by musicals are not in their narratives but in the performances themselves, which transcends the "normality" of reality/realism. Musicals transcend even the fictional reality of narrative when characters momentarily surrender themselves to

the fantasy of song and dance. “Musicals rupture the fabric of traditional narrative verisimilitude by suddenly shifting from narrative to musical spectacle to song and dance that the narrative fiction is unable to naturalize”(Belton 151). Musicals, in other words, by disrupting the barrier between music and speech, body and mind, Self and Other, free the audience from the shackle of language/reason which addresses and separates them as individuals. In musicals, people are drawn together to create a new community despite existing differences. In her article “Performance, Utopia, and the Utopian Performative,” Jill Dolan quotes from Dyer at length:

> My concern here is with how utopia can be imagined or *experienced affectively*, through feelings, in small, incremental moments that performance can provide. As Richard Dyer says, in his chapter on entertainment and utopia, “Entertainment does not present models of Utopian worlds … Rather the utopianism is contained in the feelings it embodies. It presents … what utopia would *feel* like rather than how it would be organized. It thus works at the level of sensibility, by which I mean an affective code that is characteristic of, and largely specific to, a given mode of cultural production.” These feelings and sensibilities, in performance, give rise to what I’m calling the “utopian performative.” (460, emphasis added)

When analyzing performances, we need to examine not only what the performance is conveying but, more importantly, how it is being conveyed and to what effect. In the following analysis of Korean musicals, I will use Dyer’s utopianism and Dolan’s concept of “utopian performative” as theoretical references.

3. Translating Broadway Musicals onto the Korean Stage: Global Utopia

Broadway musicals offer Korean audiences not only “images of

something better," which their everyday reality does not provide but also "American" alternatives that compensate for perceived "inadequacies" in Korean society. But is this a mere escape into fantasy, offered hand-in-hand with blatant commercialism, or is it a legitimate mode of expression that responds to "real" needs in Korean society? What needs are being reflected in the different cultural translations of Broadway musicals in Korea? What kind of cultural meaning can we infer from the cultural dynamics that exist between Broadway and Korean musicals?

Korea's fascination with Broadway musicals dates back to the 1960s. In 1962, playwright Chi-jin Yu, who returned to Korea after observing American theater for three months, staged *Porgy and Bess*. Yu saw potential audiences for a new theater in Koreans who were rapidly assimilating to American culture, and he believed that Broadway-style musicals could lead the future of Korean theater due to their hugely popular appeal(cited in Choi 227). It is interesting, however, that he chose *Porgy and Bess*, a musical that deals with the serious themes of race, poverty, and dispersion, as the first American musical staged in Korea. Thomas M. Patterson, an American playwright and director who was living in Seoul at that time, registered his disappointment with the production in his review in *Hankook Ilbo* on September 13, 1962:

> This Korean version of *Porgy and Bess* distorted the nature of the musical. The original work is neither a depiction of 'real' life of Afro-Americans nor a social critique about racism in America, but just a beautiful story, like opera. I don't understand why the Korean production treated it so heavily in such a tragic tone. What's important is not whether or not Porgy would be able to meet Bess again but his undaunted positive attitude, which culminated in the ending scene when the entire community sees him off to New York with applause, laughter, and lots of blessings. (Cited in Choi 228)

Patterson's interpretation fails to perceive how the tragic undertone of

the original musical corresponded to the "structure of feelings" of Korean audiences in the 1960s, who identified with the Black characters in the musical. The Korean public in the 1960s, a time when the traumatic memory of the Korean war was still fresh, were not yet accustomed to spectacular song and dance spectacles and the care-free happy endings of typical Broadway shows. They would have felt much closer to the musical's tone of sorrow and despair, which is similar to Korean *han*. It is reasonable to suggest that Yu's production team was more interested in introducing this new cultural form in a way that emphasized a sentiment Korean audiences would understand and appreciate rather than simply emulating the original. So it is highly possible that the overtly "tragic tone" in the Korean version of *Porgy and Bess* was a very conscious strategy on the part of Yu and his team to properly initiate Korean audiences into the American musical. Only after finding a strong emotional connection with one of the central characters would the audience accept Porgy's "undaunted positive attitude" at the end.

Jung-ok Shin, who translated *Porgy and Bess* into Korean for another production in the 1970s, also stated in the program note that her most challenging task was to translate the characters' language of isolation and grief into a Korean vernacular. It can be inferred, then, that in the initial stage of importing American musicals, Korean theater producers gave priority to Korea's cultural particularities rather than emulating Broadway musicals as the superior Other. This can be seen in the fact that what immediately followed the production of *Porgy and Bess* was not another Broadway musical but a series of "Korean-style" musicals (*Come Softly* and *Wedding Day*), produced by the Yegreen Musical Troup, a theater company established in the 1960s for the purpose of developing native Korean musicals. Yegreen and the subsequent 88 Seoul Performing Arts Company were government-supported institutions that specialized in Korean-style musicals. But their attempts at developing a distinctively modern Korean genre of musical proved to be theatrical experiments at

best, as they failed to generate substantial public interest over the long run(Yoo 12). Both companies survived for only a brief period.

In the 1970s, a variety of Broadway musicals were translated and produced mostly by a theater group named Hyundai Theater. Since Korea had not joined the international contract on the protection of intellectual property, Broadway hits such as *Jesus Christ Superstar*, *Sound of Music*, *West Side Story*, and *Evita* were staged locally without authorization. These musicals became very popular and heightened people's interest in musicals in general, which led to the 1980s, when the musical market in Korea burgeoned. According to Kim Woo Ok's article "Musicals: Past and Present," which includes statistics about musicals staged from the genre's initial introduction up to the early 1990s, a total of sixteen productions were staged between 1962 and 1971, thirty between 1972 and 1981, and one-hundred-and-forty-one between 1982 and 1991(Kim 289). In other words, the number of staged musicals increased almost ten-fold over three decades. One might also note the changing ratios between original Korean musicals and translated foreign works. For instance, during the ten years between the early 1960s and early 1970s, original Korean works accounted for 87 percent of the total number of musicals staged, while foreign works accounted for only 13 percent. In the 1970s, the number of foreign musicals grew to 43 percent and, in the 1980s, to 63 percent, Korean musicals making up the difference(Kim 301). These figures demonstrate conclusively that Broadway-style imports gradually succeeded in taking over the musical scene in Korea.

The fundamental reason behind the fast growth of the musical market in Korea is the economic prosperity Korea enjoyed in the 1970s and 1980s and the rise of the middle class. The public began to demand more entertainment, helping to diversify forms of theater which had previously centered on serious drama of the modernist school and appealed only to a limited audience of intellectuals and college students. At the same time the middle class wanted a sort of facade of high culture. Their thirst

for "world class" culture increased dramatically after the Seoul Olympics in 1988. Broadway musicals entered this economic/social/cultural context and, figuratively speaking, killed three birds with one stone. Broadway musicals evoked visions of magnificent glamor and global success and they "had a jump start in acquiring the specific capacity and implicit charge of projecting a mainstream sense of 'America'"(Lee 2012, 320). In short, they supplied cultural commodities that satisfied peoples' new and complex desires.

The first real success that aroused general enthusiasm for Broadway musicals was the quintessentially New York story *Guys and Dolls* which, drawing over one million viewers, set a record with more than 1,100 performances over 10 years. The Korean premier of *Guys and Dolls* in 1983, a joint production of the Daejung, Minjung, and Gwangjang theater companies, was seen by hundreds of thousands of people over an extended run. The production of *Guys and Dolls* in 1985 (by Minjung Theater Company alone) achieved even greater success. Since then, this musical has been re-staged almost every year and has become the all-time favorite of Korean audiences.

Guys and Dolls marked a definite paradigm shift in the cultural translation of Broadway musicals in Korea. It opened a new era of popularization, spreading the "happy virus" of Broadway's utopianism. Quite contrary to the dark interpretation of *Porgy and Bess*, all Korean versions of *Guys and Dolls* are distinctive in their simpler and lighter approach to the original. In spite of its guise of being a romantic comedy, the original musical is shadowed by the historical background of the Great Depression in the 1930s, with the attending social problems of unemployment, prohibition, and gambling. Korean productions largely ignored or diluted the original musical's social satire and instead focused on the romance between sleek guys and sexy dolls and the extravagance of song and dance(Choi 242). The musical created "feelings" of abundance, energy, intensity, transparency and community and thereby helped people transcend the "inadequacies"

of everyday life in 1980s Korean society. Musicals such as *42nd Street, Grease, Chorus Line, Sound of Music* all premiered in Korea in the 1980s and early 1990s, showcasing the utopianism Dyer delineates in his article, which offered the image of something better to escape into, "something we want deeply that our day-to-day lives don't provide." Broadway musicals provided Korean audiences alternatives, hopes, wishes with the sense that "something other than what is can be imagined and maybe realized"(Dyer 20).

As Dyer argues, musicals draw people in and create a new community that celebrates possibility. The bigger the difference between the reality and the new "virtual" community, the greater the yearning the community feels to make possibilities a reality. Korean scholars and critics, however, almost unanimously decried these musicals' escapism and commercialism. Seung-Ok Kim criticized Korean musicals for their lack of originality and reality.

> Superficially imitating Broadway musicals, Korean musicals just rehash foreign musicals rather than creating original works. Directly imported from Broadway, these musicals do not fit our communal sentiments; they are just a substitute for the real, flooded with the dreams and fantasies of foreigners … Most of all, it is grounded in shortsighted Western commercialism. Broadway musicals present nothing other than myths of love, ambition, and success wrapped in splendid music and dance just to be made popular, flattering the taste of the young generation. (63-4)

Chiwoon Ahn's criticism was even harsher. He called Broadway-style musicals "vulgar capitalism" and "entertainment for the masses, who cannot stand being lonely," which are replacing "real art for a solitary minority."

> The center of Korean theater is rapidly moving towards musicals. As commercialism devours Daehak-ro and its vicinity, real theater is

> disappearing. Instead of dealing with class struggle and the sufferings of isolated individuals, musicals only elicit empty laughs and cheap pleasure … Imported musicals change today's Korean theater from art to entertainment, as foreign species eat up all our native fish and get fatter … The difference between words and melody is speed. Musicals skip long pauses of words and thereby speed up the process of thinking and jump into hope. Musicals promise a falsity that is dissociated from everyday reality. In musicals, the past is brief, and hope is near. In musicals, the audience embraces empty hopes without question. Our dreams and hopes flow helplessly along the wave of music and dance. (371-3)

The statements of both critics are politically correct and intellectually persuasive. But if we consider their diatribe against the utopianism in musicals in the light of Dyer's speculation, the foreignness of Broadway musicals that Kim disapproves of as being unfit to "our communal sentiments" is exactly what draws people who want to envision a new kind of community. The audience's "taste" is not a moral issue for us to judge as right or wrong but an aesthetic question that requires us to examine people's emotional needs, their yearning to experience something alternative, different, new in an imaginary space like the theater. Jinsoo Jung, the translator/director of *Guys and Dolls*, argues that "Good musicals are not judged by logic or political correctness but by the passionate applause of the audience members who are completely swept up in the emotional and sensory power of the show. That moment makes all the theories disparaging musicals simply nothing, mere bubbles"(12). People's desire to experience utopia vicariously but viscerally in musicals is not a matter of simple ignorance or laziness (as Ahn implies); it rather contains political – even subversive – impulses for "what can be imagined and maybe realized." In that sense, laughter, pleasure, and hope in musicals, even if despised by critics, are not "empty" or "cheap" because "in musicals, the past is brief and hope is near."

4. Korean-brand Musicals on the Global Market: Local Anxiety

In the early 1990s, the increasing pace of globalization further fueled musicals' popularity in Korea. Spurred by the "segyehwa"(globalization) movement, declared in 1994 by Kim Young Sam's administration(1993-8) as a vehicle for Korea to become one of the world's advanced nations, domestic theater artists and producers sought to create Korean-brand Broadway-style musicals that would prove Korea's cultural value to the world. In spite of its emphasis on globalization, this official discourse actually called forth a deep-rooted national consciousness. Segyewha itself was a conflicted utopia, which on one hand encouraged Koreans to achieve status as "world citizens" but on the other hand regressed to a nostalgic view of the nation's past(Lee 2010, 56). According to the official discourse of segyehwa:

> Segyewha must be based on Koreanization. Koreans cannot become global citizens without a good understanding of their own culture and tradition. Segyehwa in the proper sense of the word means that Koreans should march out into the world on the strength of their unique culture and traditional values. Only when national identity is maintained and intrinsic national spirit is upheld will Koreans be able to successfully globalize. (cited in Lee 2010, 56)

Hyungjung Lee, in her three articles on the Korean musical, consistently and persuasively delineates how *The Last Empress*, the first Korean musical to travel to Broadway, epitomized this conflicting rubric of globalization. *The Last Empress* was premiered in Korea in 1995 by Arts Communication International (A-Com International), a professional musical company founded by director Ho-jin Yoon in 1991. The tremendous impact and success of Broadway musicals in the 1980s created a strong impetus for "a Korean version of a Broadway musical," and *The Last Empress* is

the best example of this. Yoon's nationalistic ambition to demonstrate the competitive quality of a Korean cultural product led him to stage the musical in New York as well as in other Western metropolises like Los Angeles, London, and Toronto despite receiving no performance fees from the venues.

The Last Empress is about the tragic murder of Empress Myoungsung (known as Queen Min, 1851-1895) and the consequent subordination of Korea to Japan. The show, which chronicles Queen Min’s years in the palace, presents her life and death as analogous to the tragic decline of the Chosun dynasty and the country’s annexation by Japan. The musical opens with Queen Min’s coronation and royal marriage to King Gojong in 1866, as she pledges both to serve him and to remain the faithful “Mother of the Nation.” Throughout the performance, the audience finds the queen seeking support from Russia in order to defend Chosun from Japan’s gradual encroachment. But the Japanese assassins invade the queen's court and stab her to death. The musical ends with a grand finale that stages Queen Min’s resurrection as she blesses Korea’s eternal prosperity:

> One step ahead, autonomy and prosperity!
> One step back, subordination and retrogression!
> Gather our strength in wisdom and courage,
> Rise against the shame of ruining our nation!
> We shall forever protect the sun rising in the East.
> Chosun is forever! Chosun shall prosper! (cited in Lee 2002, 153)

The Last Empress’s New York premiere in 1997 showcased uniquely Korean connections between its yearning for globalization and inherent nationalism. As soon as it became the first Korean musical staged on Broadway, the musical’s reputation soared at home. Under the discourse of segyehwa, *The Last Empress* was feted as an exemplary model that would secure the nation a place in leading the trend of globalization by promoting Korean culture on an international stage. For that purpose,

Broadway was considered as a test ground of international quality that would guarantee success anywhere in the world. *The Last Empress* represents how Korea attempted to construct a sense of national identity that interacted and overlapped with the rest of the world. As much as the producers of *The Last Empress* wanted to emulate the global products of Broadway, they also sought to ensure that Korea's first Broadway musical would be authentically Korean. Given the numerous foreign productions flowing into South Korea from the 1980s on, they sought to reverse that trend and thereby prove the viability of Korean culture on the global stage.

Musical critic Younghae Noh dubbed *The Last Empress* as "the people's musical" because it proved the high value of Korean culture: "the production itself proves that Korean performance has caught up with the scale of Broadway megamusicals"(62). The Korean media continued to overstate the musical's accomplishment, deploying the rhetoric of global success, as the show traveled to London, Los Angeles, and Toronto. The visual elements grew more lavish as the production was restaged, but *The Last Empress* ultimately failed to impress global audiences. Heakyung Lee argues that the musical indulged too much in narrating historical events and in glorifying the Korean Empress from the perspective of Korean people, who still lived in a spirit of feudalistic nationalism(156). Western critics saw the musical as a Broadway wannabe with a Korean facade. Rhoda Koenig opined that the music was not only lacking in imagination and uniqueness but also sounded like "a tribute to Andrew Lloyd Webber and vintage Broadway." Michael Billington, a theater critic of *The Guardian*, rated the show 1 out of 5 and concluded in his review:

> Although the final number is a choral anthem hymning 'independency,' the show itself is the artistic equivalent of the process by which local Korean companies have surrendered to foreign control … The story may come from the East but the show's rhetorical style suggests a doomed attempt to become the Korean *Les Miserables*.

These critical evaluations deserve our attention, but what they failed to recognize was the complexity of the cultural dynamic between the global and the local in *The Last Empress.* It was the "local anxiety" that drove the show to take up the mask of Broadway, the symbol of glamor and affluence of the global center. At the core of *The Last Empress* was national anxiety masquerading in the lavish global style of Broadway megamusicals. Haekyoung Lee hints at the possibility of the strategic exploitation of Orientalism(157), but what the musical truly exploited was not Orientalism that catered to Western tastes but a sentiment of nationalism that stirred the nostalgic memories of overseas Korean immigrants who, after all, comprised most of the spectators in the New York and London runs.

The global utopia projected in the production of Broadway-style megamusicals was in fact the flip side of local anxiety over Korea's national identity in the era of globalization. In this rapidly globalizing world, we are threatened by two opposite dangers: the danger of difference and the danger of sameness. People are anxious not to be left behind in this uniform race for a global economy and a global culture but, at the same time, they are afraid of losing the cultural identity that makes them unique, different, and distinctive. Walking a tight rope between the two poles of the universal(the global) and the particular(the local), we experience both excitement and anxiety over the idea of a disappearing of the self. In that sense, *The Last Empress* showcases Korea's struggle to balance the two seemingly incompatible imperatives of the global and the local. By fusing national history and global form, the musical attempted to appropriate globalization and thereby find a way to turn the crisis into opportunity, fear into courage. In that sense, what Korean audiences may have seen in *The Last Empress* was Korea standing at the edge of surging waves of globalization, just as Chosun stood on the edge of a precipice before the encroaching world powers in the late nineteenth century.

Unfortunately, the producers' grand project of proving national competence on the global stage never resulted in more than premature

enthusiasm on the part of the domestic Korean media. Such a half success was partly due to its lack of vantage point above the global and the local. *The Last Empress* was so self-absorbed in containing the global(form) in the local(content) (or the other way around) that it failed to create the requisite aesthetic distance from which to view and reflect on the dynamics between the two. History was too long and hope was too heavy. The musical never let go of the gravity of reason/narrative and so failed to soar into the realm of utopia.

The most recent and unprecedentedly successful Korean "musical" on the global market has been Psy's "Gangnam Style." Ironically, Psy's "musical" compensates for *The Last Empress*'s unfulfilled dreams. Psy's music video conjures up the utopian sensibilities inherent in musicals such as abundance (as opposed to scarcity), energy (as opposed to exhaustion), intensity (as opposed to dreariness), transparency (as opposed to manipulation) and community (as opposed to alienation), which compensate for specific inadequacies in society. The *Los Angeles Times* article titled "Giddy Up! S. Korean Rapper Psy's 'Gangnam Style' is Unstoppable" proclaims that "It's not just the Olympics that brings together the citizens of the world. It's also completely insane, hilarious, high-energy music videos."

Psy publicly admits that when he created the song he did not have global listeners in mind; it was intended for local fans. Unlike the producers of *The Last Empress* and other cultural products whose main purpose was to enter the U.S. market, Psy felt no such pressure to impress Western audiences. He invented his unique style and humor to please his local fans, which quickly became something completely novel and unexpected to global audiences. "Gangnam Style," with hundreds of flash mobs and imitations, created a new community that celebrated "difference" and, with a buoyant energy of song and dance, transcended the shortcomings of everyday life, however fleetingly.

Yet there is one thing that makes "Gangnam Style" distinct from the

utopianism of typical Broadway-style musicals: Psy's music video "plays with" the longing for *and* the impossibility of utopia. His music video expresses both the universal yearning for utopia *and* our collective failure to achieve it. The moment viewers feel the most heightened sense of community occurs when they recognize this fact and laugh *with* Psy not *at* him. In that sense, the place of Gangnam reaches beyond a narrow geographical frame to become a postmodern, late-capitalist version of Shangri-La, Arcadia, or El Dorado—an elusive utopia that means "no place." From this point of view, Psy's "musical" can be read as a satirical commentary on wannabes, not only in the "Gangnam Style" video but in "Broadway style" Korean musicals.

5. Korean Musicals in the Era of Globalization 3.0

In the 2010s, the power dynamic that informed musicals in Korea has changed in a significant way. Broadway is still the center of world musicals but no longer the Superior Other with absolute power, as Seoul has become a rising musical mecca that draws American producers who want to make up for their losses in the flopping American market. Judy Craymer, the lead producer of *Mamma Mia!* said, "Seoul has become incredibly important in the lives of many musicals, something none of us would've said or predicted a decade ago." A recent article titled "Musicals Couldn't Be Hotter Off Broadway (by 7,000 Miles)" in the *New York Times* reports:

> Seoul has become a boomtown for American musicals, with Korean and Broadway producers tapping into an audience of young women … Ticket sales to American and European musicals, as well as to a sprinkling of Korean originals, have grown from $9 million in 2000 to an estimated $300 million this year, and a frenzy of licensing deals is underway … And best of all, it's this huge young audience. The

growth potential is enormous.

The rewards have become significant for American producers, who usually receive fifteen percent of the box office gross as well as licensing and management fees in some cases. Revenues worth millions of dollars offset losses on Broadway. Yet Broadway producers are not the only beneficiaries. Do-yoon Seol, one of the lead producers of Korean musicals, said, “People are losing money in musicals, but because enough of them are making money, everyone still wants to be big in the market”(quoted in “Musicals Couldn’t Be Hotter”). In the boom of American musicals in Korea, idol stars from popular K-pop bands are the key players. Producers have been increasingly hiring K-pop stars, as well as Korean soap opera actors and other celebrities. Jun-won Chang, a talent agent turned musical producer states, “Ten years ago, five years ago, ticket sales depended on a musical coming from Broadway or London or having a Tony Award, but today, *K-pop casting has become the No. 1 criteria for a lot of shows*” (“Heartthrobs,” emphasis added).

K-pop’s dominance is leading to meaningful cultural negotiations between American musical licensing companies and Korean producers. When executives of SM Entertainment, a major talent agency that is moving into musical theater, were planning a Korean-language *Singin' in the Rain* with a K-pop star in the title role and K-pop choreography between scenes, they encountered resistance from Music Theater International, the New York-based licensing company. Chang-hwan Jeong, who oversees theater production for SM, protested, “While it’d be hard to put K-pop music and dancing into, say, *Les Misrables*, *Singin' in the Rain* has a very open structure that easily lends itself to *our* style of performance … We don't want to do any damage to the shows. But we also want these to be *Korean* shows”(“Heartthrobs,” emphasis added).

Today’s musical scene in Korea shows significant reversals from the 1990s, when Korean producers were eager to debut on Broadway and

impress American audiences. Korean producers no longer look up to Broadway as a final destination; they would rather make Seoul a new Broadway. They bring Broadway musicals and turn them into Korean shows. Some even plan on taking their shows to Japan and China by putting K-pop stars into Broadway musicals. The glamor of Broadway is no longer the main attraction of musicals in Korea. What young audiences look for most is the utopian feelings of K-pop idols and the utopian feelings of abundance, energy, intensity, transparency and community, which they can experience live in the musical with their favorite K-pop stars right in front of their eyes.

The complex dynamics in recent Korean musicals can be explained with Thomas Friedman's theory of Globalization 3.0. Critics often cite the intercultural aspects of today's Korean theater and its hybridity as evidence of American cultural imperialism. Others see it as an opportunity for creativity and dynamic growth. But whether one regards what is happening in Korean theater as positive or negative, there is no place on Earth that is not being influenced and changed by activities taking place in other parts of the world. International travel, networked communication, the circulation of goods and technologies, curiosity about the way other people live, and fascination with novelty are everywhere, helping to produce a "global culture." Richard Schechner sees globalization itself as performance, and in his article "Global and Intercultural Performances" presents a compelling "storyboard" for it. The proponents of globalization envision American superheroes who dissolve national, cultural, and economic boundaries as they spread free-market capitalism, individual entrepreneurship, and democracy to every corner of the world. The opponents of globalization, on the other hand, see an increase in American power and hegemony, economically, politically, and culturally. But there is third scenario that retells globalization as a "David versus Goliath" story, in which the struggle of millions of individuals using the Internet as a global participatory forum create a new cultural power that

battles against corporate conglomerates(Schechner 265-266).

Thomas Friedman defines this third scenario of globalization as Globalization 3.0. In Globalization 1.0, which started from 1492 when Columbus set sail, opening trade between the Old World and the New World, the key agent of change was how much brawn—how much muscle, horsepower, wind power, or steam power—a country had. In Globalization 2.0, lasting roughly from 1800 to 2000, the key agent of change was falling transportation and telecommunication costs, which powered multinational companies in the West. With Globalization 3.0, we have entered a whole new era. "The dynamic force in Globalization 3.0—the thing that gives it its unique character—is the newfound power for individuals to collaborate and compete globally"(Friedman 9). Friedman goes on to argue:

> Globalization 3.0 not only differs from the previous eras in how it is shrinking and flattening the world and in how it is empowering individuals. It is different in that Globalization 1.0 and 2.0 were driven primarily by European and American states and business ⋯ *Globalization 3.0 is going to be more and more driven by a much more diverse—non-Western, non-white, female—groups of individuals.* Globalization 3.0 makes it possible for so many more people to plug and play. (9-10 emphasis added)

Then who is the "David" of Globalization 3.0, who creates a new cultural power to battle against the cultural hegemony of Broadway? They are Psy and his music video on YouTube, K-pop idols leading the musical scene in Korea, young women in their 20s and early 30s who comprise 80% of the audience for musicals in Korea, and Korean producers who are making a shift from the American Wave to a Korean Wave. These are the Davids who can defeat Goliath.

And there are other Davids who have joined this battle. Since the mid-1990s, musicals have also been staged at small-size theaters. *Subway*

Line 1, a Korean adaptation of the German musical *Linie 1-Musikalische Revue* is the most successful example. In 1994, determined to turn around the trend of megamusicals, composer and director Min-gi Kim opened Hakchon Theater with *Subway Line 1* as its inaugurating production. *Subway Line 1* enjoyed a fifteen-year run at the same venue, drawing more than 700,000 people to its record-breaking 4,000 performances. Since 2008, the small-size theater musical *Washing*, an original Korean musical, has successfully followed the legacy of *Subway Line 1*, in which audiences root for characters representing people who are marginalized in society.

6. Conclusion

Since 2000, the Korean musical market has grown by more than 20% almost every year, and since 2006 it has taken up more than 50% of the entire performing arts market in Korea(Park 403). Musicals produced annually already outnumber Broadway musicals. This fast growth of musicals in Korea is partly due to the lack of diverse popular entertainment suited to the changing tastes and demands of the public. Traditional highbrow arts such as opera, ballet, and classical music can be enjoyed only when audiences have a requisite amount of knowledge and training. It was the imported licensed Broadway musical that nurtured people's taste for utopianism in popular entertainment, which let audiences experience vicarious but intense feelings of community.

Even though I agree with the general concerns with regard to the lack of original Korean musicals, "original" does not necessarily mean culturally pure and homogeneous. In the era of Globalization 3.0, even works of art cannot be entirely original, not to mention popular forms of entertainment such as musicals. Also, in the field of popular culture, competition can easily turn into intercultural collaboration. The binary formula of Global/America versus Local/Korea cannot be applied to the dynamic and

intercultural musical scene of today. Globalization is not a uniform phenomenon but rather a twofold or multifold process of global domination and dissemination in which the global and the local conflict and are conflated constantly. As we have seen in this study, the Korean musical has evolved from a huge net of interdependences between the global and the local with a range of sources, powers and influences.

As Dyer asserts, the fact that musical theater is primarily commercial entertainment should not blind us to its complex relationship with patriarchal capitalism and its implicit struggle within it. Young generations who love musical theater have grown up in a thoroughly postmodern environment, moving easily among media in a culture that privileges the "no-brow." Such flights from banality into an intense, sincere, generous romanticism point toward Dolan's notion of "utopian performatives." Stacy Wolf, in her article "In Defense of Pleasure: Musical Theatre History in the Liberal Arts," proclaims the politically progressive possibilities of utopianism in musical performance, what Dyer calls "the intensity of fleeting emotional contacts … and the exquisite pain of [their] passing"(cited in Dolan 472). In such lucid power of intersubjective understanding, feelings and emotions that transcend both cultural barriers and the banality of everyday life are the beginning of the utopian performative.

❖ Works Cited

Ahn, Chi-woon. "On Musicals." *Hwanghae Culture* (Winter 2003): 369-374.

Belton, John. *American Cinema/American Culture*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 2005.

Billington, Michael. "*The Last Empress*." *Guardian*. February 5, 2002.

Choi, Seungyoun. "Translated Cultures and Korean Decoding: A Study on the Acceptance of Translated-Musicals." *Journal of Korean Dramatic Arts* 29 (2009): 219-260.

Dolan, Jill. "Performance, Utopia, and the 'Utopian Performative.'" *Theatre Journal* 53.3 (2001): 455-479.

Dyer, Richard. "Entertainment and Utopia" in *Only Entertainment.* New York: Routledge, 1992. 17-34.

Friedman, Thomas. *The World is Flat*. New York: Farrar, Straus, & Giroux, 2005.

Healya, Patrick. "Musicals Couldn't Be Hotter Off Broadway (by 7,000 Miles)." *New York Times.* December 8, 2013, A1.

_____________. "Heartthrobs Rule the Korean Stage." *New York Times*. December 29, 2013, AR1.

Jung, Jin-soo. "Director's Note: For the Sake of Beauty on Earth." Production Program of *Guys and Dolls* (December 1983): 16-29.

Kim, Seung-Ock. "A Study on the Cultural configuration of Popular Culture: The Popular Cultural Implications of Musicals." in *Encounter between Literature and Popular Culture*. Ed. Donam Society of Language and Literature. Seoul. 2005. 37-64.

Kim, Woo Ok. "Musicals: Past and Present" in *Theatre as Experiment and Challenge*. Wolin. 2000. 280-305.

Koenig, Rhoda. "The Last Empress, Apollo Hammersmith, London: And Never the Twain Shall Meet." *Independent*. February 6, 2002.

Lee, Haekyoung. "The Gazes of the Other upon the Life of Empress Myoungsung and Its Portrayal in *The Last Empress*." *Feminist Studies in English Literature* 10.2 (2002): 141-161.

Lee, Hyunjung. "Performing Korean-ness on the Global Stage: Ho-Jin Yoon's Musical *The Last Empress.*" *Theatre Research International* 35:1(2010): 54-65.

_____________. "'Broadway' as the Superior 'Other': Situating South Korean Theater in the Era of Globalization." *The Journal of Popular Culture* 45:2 (2012): 320-339.

Netburn, Deborah. "Giddy up! S. Korean rapper Psy's 'Gangnam Style' is unstoppable" *Los Angeles Times*, August 4, 2012.

Noh, Younghae. "Exploring the 'Kukmin' musicals of the late 1990s South Korea:

The Last Empress and *Linie 1-Das Musikal." Music and Culture* 3.3 (2000): 61-90.

Park, Byung-sung. "New Era of Original Musicals" *Changsak-khwa-Bipyung* 135 (Spring 2007): 403-412.

Schechner, Richard. *Performance Studies: An Introduction*. New York: Routledge, 2006.

Shin, Jungok. "Translator's Note" Production Program of Theatre Gakyo's *Porgy and Bess* (November 1976): 12-16.

Wolf, Stacy. "In Defense of Pleasure: Musical Theatre History in the Liberal Arts." *Theatre Topics* 17:1(2007): 51-60.

Yoo, Min-young. "Development of the Modern Musical in Korea." *Koreana* 15:3(August 2001): 10-17.

The Dilemma of Language in Education Policies in Ghana and Tanzania

Josephine Dzahene-Quarshie
(Department of Modern Languages, University of Ghana)

Lioba Moshi
(Department of Comparative Literature, Franklin College of Arts and Sciences, University of Georgia)

▌ABSTRACT ▌

This paper examines language policies of Ghana and Tanzania (former British Colonies) since independence. The view that language use in education is a problem for African countries is evident in the ever changing language in education policies in many African countries. Because of the inevitable multilingual situation in many African countries, there are unavoidable challenges in their quest to adopt a language policy that works for the entire country since it is not practical to adopt all the languages spoken in the country as Media of Instruction. Ghana is not immune to this challenge and has fallen victim to this tendency to change the language in education policy from time to time in an attempt to adopt a satisfactory policy which would yield the intended results. Tanzania, however, is one of the few African countries that have found a sustainable language in education policy since independence. Nonetheless, it has its fair share of challenges as a consequence of the perceived competition between Kiswahili and English as official languages. The paper discusses the challenges that both Ghana and Tanzania face against the background of colonization. The paper also offers a discussion on possible future perspectives for the two countries.

Key Words
Language in education policy, medium of instruction, local language, multilingual, mother tongue

1. Introduction

Among the many post-colonial challenges that African countries face is the lack of a coherent language policy. It is not so much that Africa would not have had a language problem if there had not been colonialism, but colonial interference complicated Africa's ability to diffuse their language problems. Of the 6,909 languages of the world, approximately 30%, (about 2,092), are spoken in Africa (Ethnologue 2009). Of these approximately 79 (excluding English and two sign languages) are spoken in Ghana and 129 in Tanzania (Ethnologue 2009). While many countries, including Ghana, have failed to select a local language as a National Language, there are some that were bold, right after independence, to declare a local language as national language. Tanzania selected Kiswahili (the most widely spoken language both at the national and local levels) to be the national language (Kropp Dakubu 2013).

Where one language was insufficient, multiple languages were selected. This is true about the Democratic Republic of Congo and South Africa which have declared several local languages as national languages (Hunt-Johnson, gse.upenn.edu/wpel/s…2n2 Hunt-Johnson.pdf; Bokamba 2008). In the case of Tanzania, for Kiswahili to be elevated to the status of a national language, it had to go through rigorous processes of development. Its acquired status, namely the most developed African language, is meritorious, considering that several African countries have yet to adopt a language, local or foreign, to be their national language. Instead, many of these countries have adopted an official language which is often the language imposed by colonialism (English, French, or

Portuguese). Bokamba (2008) estimates that 35 out of the 55 African countries have maintained colonial languages as official and administrative languages.

The institutionalization of official languages has serious implications when it comes to dealing with language in education policies. Consequently, problems that emanate from such policies have remained persistent in Africa over the years with no ending in sight. Like many other African countries, Ghana selected the language of its former colonial master, namely English, as its official language. Countries that had more than one colonial legacy ended up with more than one colonial language as official language. A good example is Cameroon which was colonized by both the French and the British. Consequently they ended up with two official languages, English and French (Ayafor 2005). This is a result of the ambiguous nature of the state of affairs the colonized were confronted with because when it was decided that the African must be offered formal education, the major and disconcerting question was, in whose language; the colonial master's or the African's?

The state of limbo that these countries found themselves in created the problems of language in education policies that eventually became the inherited legacy for the newly independent African countries. As a result many African nations have been unable to emerge from the inherited legacies and continue to be in a maze as they try to establish and implement the most suitable Language in Education Policies (LEPs) for their peculiar situations. This search for ideal policies in several African countries such as Ghana, South Africa and Uganda, to name only a few, has resulted in frequent changes in the existing LEPs.

It is without doubt that one of the key pointers to the challenges is the highly multilingual situations in many African countries. Although the theory is that the best language choice for the purpose of education at least at the early stages of language development is the mother tongue (Anyidoho 2009), the inability for countries to deal with the diverse issues

associated with the intense multilingual situation in their respective countries poses a challenge to the success of any policy. This notwithstanding, South Africa's 1996 constitution names eleven indigenous languages including English as official languages. Interestingly, Ghana fits the South African case because it is facing the same dilemma in the choice of a national language/official language. Faced with this dilemma, Ghana has had several changes in its LEP since independence. Nevertheless these changes have not resolved the problems associated with LEP. Furthermore, this policy is not unique to Ghana or any other country because even in the case of Tanzania, one of the few African nations that have had a stable language in education policy since independence has not been free of challenges associated with the implementation of its LEP.

In the next section, we will undertake a comparative analysis of the colonial and the post-independence LEPs of Ghana and Tanzania. We therefore plan to do the following: (a) offer an appraisal of the colonial educational policies of the two countries; (b) discuss and compare the two countries' post-colonial eras; (c) examine the peculiar challenges that each country face; and (d) offer concluding remarks and propose future strategies for the way forward for the two countries.

2. Colonial educational policies in Ghana and Tanzania

It is evident that European missionaries to Africa contributed to the development of indigenous African languages, especially, in education. They were indeed the pioneers of formal education in many parts of Africa. This was true of European missionaries to Ghana and Tanzania. The colonial administrations later took over the education of the African with assistance from the missions that had already established mission schools. The common theory is that the arrival of missionaries to Africa was a preamble to colonialism (Kusimba 1999).

Ghana

In Ghana, the European missionaries who contributed to the provision of formal education to Ghanaians by establishing mission schools from the 1830s were namely the Wesley and Basel missions (Eyiah 2004). This initiative was continued by the colonial administration which started to establish schools for formal education after the mid-nineteenth century. The first of such was the Colonial School at the Cape Coast Castle, the seat of the British colonial administration. The school produced the first generation of English language educated Ghanaians (Eyiah 2004). English was established as medium of instruction in these schools by the Wesley Mission, now Methodist Church (Obeng 1997; Dzameshie 1988). However, the Basel Mission (Now Presbyterian Church) placed more value on the local languages to the extent that their schools were branded not progressive. They used Akwapim Twi and Ga, the local languages in the areas where they set up their mission schools (Eastern and Greater Accra regions). The Bremen Mission also worked in the Ewe speaking area, now the Volta region and selected the Ewe language to be used in their schools. (Obeng 1997; Owu-Ewie 2006; Anyidoho and Kropp Dakubu 2008).

It can be argued then that from the onset of the British colonial period, the objective was to establish English to emphasize its superiority to the local languages. As such the English language was highly valued and promoted to the detriment of the indigenous Ghanaian languages. The establishment of English as the language of education was strategic for the colonial administration and stakeholders, because they needed to develop a native workforce that was critical to the sustainability of the colonial administration. The ability to read and write English was essential to foster good communication (Dzameshie 1988). Owu-Ewie (2006) and Dzameshie (1988), indicate that despite this high value that was placed on English, some attention was given to Ghanaian languages in education later by the colonial government. According to Anyidoho and Kropp Dakubu (2008),

by 1890, some of the few educated elites (Nationalists) such as John Mensah Sarbah and J. E. Casely-Hayford protested against the use of English only in some of the schools in the Fante area (Central Region) and tried to set up their own schools with the aim of promoting the use of local languages in education. However they were not successful in this endeavour because, the people themselves preferred an education that would earn them white collar jobs with the colonial administration (Anyidoho and Kropp-Dakubu 2008). They felt that the more knowledgeable they were in English the better the prospects for gaining employment.

Mfum-Mensah (2005) points out that the notion behind the colonial administration's preference for English only education and the Christian missionaries' preference for Ghanaian languages was the need to achieve success in their own objectives for educating the Ghanaian. While the colonial master needed educated Ghanaians to take up junior positions within the colonial administration, the missionaries needed converts to occupy positions in the mission and the success of the missions was very much dependent on their ability to communicate with their converts (in their own language) who would in turn communicate the gospel to other natives (Mfum-Mensah 2005).

Prior to the colonial administration's official take-over of formal education, the Phelpes-Stokes Commission was set up in 1920 by the then Governor of the Gold Coast, Gordon Guggisberg to make recommendations towards the improvement of education. The committee recommended that because of its importance, the English language should be introduced as early as possible as the medium of instruction. However indigenous languages should be used as medium of instruction (MOI) in lower primary (1-3) and English as MOI in upper primary (4-6) (Dzamashie 1988; Mfum-Mensah 2005; Anyidoho and Kropp-Dakubu 2008).

That the recommendations of the committee were accepted by the colonial government is evident in the place given to indigenous languages in language

policy in education throughout the British colonial administration (Dzamashie 1988).

Dzameshie (1988), citing Gbedemah (1975), states that the nationalists movement that arose in the then Gold Coast shortly after the second world war, expressed their misgivings about the standard of education. They also accused the colonial government of attempting to undermine the Africans by giving them inferior education through the local languages. It seems in response to the sentiment expressed; the Accelerated Development Plan of 1951, a plan that was recommended by yet another committee was implemented. The committee was set up to investigate the possibility of an English only education at all levels. However its recommendation was synonymous with that of the Phelpes-Stokes Commission. In addition, local languages were to be taught as subjects from primary four.

Tanzania

Similarly, in Tanzania, Western education was pioneered by Christian missionaries. The first missionary school was set up in Tanganyika by the Holy Ghost Fathers at Bagamoyo in 1862 (Ishimu and Maliyamkono, 2003). By the time the German colonialists took up responsibility for their territory in East Africa in the 1890s, Kiswahili had already acquired the status of a lingua franca in the East African coastal area and interior (through the expansion of trade between the coastal people and the people from the interior) and the missionaries had already established some schools. They took advantage of the extremely widespread status of Kiswahili and adopted it as the colonial administrative language (Maxon 1994).

They set up training institutions which used Kiswahili as the medium of instruction to train local people to take up positions of junior administrators within their administration. They also provided financial support to the mission schools. In both the mission schools and the colonial schools,

Kiswahili was used as the medium of instruction. By 1903 about twenty four government and mission schools had been established.

The British took over the sphere of influence from the Germans (German East Africa Protectorate) after the First World War and although they continued to use Kiswahili more or less as the administrative language, English, nevertheless, was adopted as the language of communication in the legislature and judiciary and the MOI in the lower primary school was either Kiswahili or vernacular. At the upper primary and higher level, the MOI was English (Mazrui & Mazrui 1995).

In Tanzania the British administration intended to put measures in place to ensure that Kiswahili was elevated enough to eventually take over some of the functions assumed by English both in the colonial administration and higher education. It demonstrated its commitment to the development of Kiswahili by commissioning the Inter-territorial (Swahili) Language Committee (ILC) which was established in 1929 first of all, to standardize the Kiswahili language for the purpose of education and secondly to ensure that the standard was adhered to, particularly by publishers of formal educational material (Whiteley 1969; Mbaabu 1991). Unlike the Germans who pursued a Kiswahili only policy, the British created parallel paths for English and Kiswahili. They introduced the English language to the Africans and promoted it considerably in the backdrop of the wisdom they had already seen in promoting the Kiswahili language at the same time. Several conferences were held to discuss issues of language and education, especially, the choice of MOI. The options were local languages, Kiswahili and English. The debate went on for some time, but eventually Kiswahili was established as the MOI in primary education. Unlike the Ghanaian situation, throughout the whole colonial period, Kiswahili was used as the MOI in lower primary education. However by independence there were Kiswahili medium, English Medium and Asian Vernacular medium primary schools in Tanzania. In Schools where Kiswahili was not the MOI, it was a taught subject (Roy-Campbell 1992) cited in Mazrui

and Mazrui (1995).

Ghana and Tanzania Compared

As noted earlier, there were efforts on the Ghana side, specifically from Mensah Sarbah and his colleagues to establish schools that would use indigenous languages as a MOI instead of English. There was some momentum to support this initiative from the fact that the Basel Schools had decided to use local languages as MOI in addition to teaching English at their schools. Mensah Sarbah and his colleagues could have forged an alliance with the Basel Schools to push for the recognition of the importance of the use of local languages in formal education. The interesting question to answer here is why and how did Tanzania manage to integrate Kiswahili in formal education but Ghana was not able to take a similar decision but rather resorted to the use of English.

To explain this, first, we have to consider the fact that the linguistic landscape in Ghana was different from that of Tanzania. The historical background shows that Kiswahili had been placed in an opportune place for it to be considered by missionaries, the colonial administration, and the local administrative support groups. Consequently, Kiswahili was not confined to one specific tribe or local area. In Ghana, as noted earlier, Mensah Sarbah and his colleagues received resistance from the local communities.

As in Tanzania, the missionaries in Ghana preferred the local languages in the schools because they were interested in preparing local staff who would assume church responsibilities and the running of the various missionary activities. By contrast, the colonial administration in Ghana preferred English to prepare future workforce for the administration. In Tanzania, however, particularly during the German administration, Kiswahili was allowed to play a role in the preparation of local manpower.

Kiswahili had additional advantages that were enhanced by its spread

beyond its normal boundaries. The spread into the hinterland and beyond the national borders allowed for its rapid development that was necessary for the requirements for instruction in the schools.

3. Post-colonial language in education policies

Since both the colonial language and African languages played a role in education during the colonial period, on the eve of independence, many African countries found themselves saddled with the colonial language and local languages. As pointed out earlier, the dilemma of the colonial languages versus the local language has remained in the aftermath of colonialism and Africa has not been able to resolve it effectively. The problem has been the selection of a language within the socio-cultural and educational set up in a particular country. Tanzania had political stability with the establishment of a one-party state by her first President, Julius Nyerere. This contributed to the stability of the language policy. In contrast, Ghana's post-independence era was characterised by political instability, which impacted negatively on language policy, since several change of governments were accompanied by some changes in LEP.

In the next two sub sections, each country's policies from independence to the present are discussed.

Post-colonial LEP in Ghana

In 1957, the year in which Ghana gained independence from Britain, a minority recommendation, that advocated for an English only education was accepted and adopted. Hence English became the sole MOI at all levels of education except primary one. There was no significant change in this policy until 1967 when the National Liberation Council (NLC) took over from the Nkrumah government. From 1967 to 1974, there were

slight changes made as the administration went back and forth in the bid to establish the place of the English language vis-à-vis local languages within the educational system.

The next significant change in LEP took place in 1974, under the military administration of the National Redemption Council. It declared that the MOI was to be a Ghanaian language that was prevalent in the particular local area, while English was to be studied as a subject from primary 1-3. From primary 4 onwards, English was to replace the Ghanaian language as MOI and the Ghanaian language was then to be taught as a subject (Andoh-Kumi 1999). This policy did not see any significant changes, despite the several successions of governments; the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (1978-1979), Peoples National Party (1979-1981), Provisional National Democratic Council (1981-1992) and the National Democratic Congress (1992-2000). Nevertheless, there was a significant revision of the entire educational system in which the General Certificate of Education (GCE) Ordinary and Advance Level examinations were replaced by the Junior and Senior Secondary school system with the Basic Education Certificate Examination (BECE) and the West African Senior School Certificate Examination (WASSCE) and currently there is a slight modification, Junior High School has replaced Junior Secondary and Senior High School Senior Secondary School. In 2002, a new LEP was adopted by the sitting government of the time, the National Patriotic Party. This was an English only policy under which English was made the sole MOI at all levels of Education, but a Ghanaian language was taught as a subject from primary one to the Junior High school level. Several reasons were given by the minister of education for the change in policy. Some of the reasons included the challenges that faced the previous policy and some constituted the advantages of using English as MOI and the fear that the selection of a particular indigenous language may result in violence (Bodomo et al. 2009). Additionally, there was anticipated level of difficulty in deciding which of the 79 languages should be selected (Anyidoho and

Kropp Dakubu 2008).

The biggest challenge for Ghana was the highly multilingual nature of the Ghanaian society. To date only ten out of the 79 languages have been endorsed for use in educational activities in the ten regions of Ghana by the Ministry of Education. This means that the local language of a particular municipality is the preferred language for the schools in that area. We can clearly anticipate the challenge this poses, especially, to students who do not speak that particular local language and yet are required to embrace it for instruction. This is a problem that is inevitable in communities that are very heterogeneous. It would require both the community and the students to acquire competence in the L1of that municipality for educational purposes.

Another challenge is the lack of trained multilingual teachers with linguistic proficiency in the local languages of instruction in the particular municipality. As reported by Andoh-Kumi (1999), there are cases where some of the teachers do not to have the needed proficiency in the predominant language spoken there. The lack of linguistically diverse educational material (i.e. material in the local language) is also a big challenge facing the teachers. Consequently, the instructors are faced with the problem of having to resort to English teaching materials even though they are teaching in the local language. The books that are often available for use in the schools are language instruction books that are written in the local languages. The textbooks as well as library books for other subjects such as mathematics, science, etc are usually in English. The outcomes are obvious, a high percentage of children who lack the needed language proficiency to fully understand what is going on in the classroom, let alone the ability to read, write, understand, and communicate effectively in the English language during and after they are through with the primary education. Scholars, who have researched this subject, note that the advantage of the English only policy is that English is the lingua franca for many people, the ordained official language, and also MOI, at the secondary and tertiary levels. It

is important, therefore, that students acquire the right level of competence before they exit primary school. Thus the advocacy is that the earlier English is introduced in the education system, the better its benefit to MOI at later stages.

Anyidoho and Kropp Dakubu (2008), report that the Education Reform Review Committee was set up in 2004, to review the 2002 policy. The committee made some recommendations that were accepted by the government in a white paper on the committee's report. However, the government did not make public the fact that its position on the English only MOI had changed slightly. The recommendations that were accepted were that:

(a) Mother tongue (children's first home language) and English should be the MOI at kindergarten and primary level.

(b) Where teachers and learning materials are available and the linguistic composition of classes is fairly uniform, the children's first language must be used as the dominant MOI in kindergarten and lower primary" (2008: 50).

It seems that the setting up of the Education Review Committee and the subsequent modification to the English only policy was necessitated by the immense protests and criticisms from academics and other individuals and groups such as the Northern Network for Education Development, an initiative of Civil society, with over 100 members made up of NGOs, Private Individuals and Institutions.

From the account above, it is very clear that to a large extent throughout Ghana's history of formal education (colonial period to the present) the various LEPs have been bilingual in nature. In other words, either local languages or English are used as MOI at different points in the educational system. The problem over the years has been the mechanism to facilitate the creation of a balance between the two so as to ensure that competence and proficiency in both English and the local languages is achieved. Although the government has received a lot of criticism from academics for introducing

an English only policy, there is concrete evidence that attest to the fact that apart from the reasons put out by the government, the English only policy is preferred by the majority of stakeholders of education in Ghana, namely parents, children, and teachers (Andoh-Kumi 1999; Mfum-Mensah 2005; Bodomo et al. 2009). Furthermore, the various changes in policies over the years are indicators of the fact that the various policies have not yielded the expected results.

What the average Ghanaian expects is that by the end of primary education, children would be proficient in English, simply because the furtherance of one's studies beyond the primary school level is very much dependent on ones proficiency in reading and writing the English language since the MOI for higher education is English.

Experts in bilingual education have demonstrated that, the bilingual approach of education in which the mother tongue is used in the early years of education helps children to understand the subjects and also helps them acquire the L2 (in the case of Ghana, English) better (Krashen 1991; Owu-Ewie 2006; Anyidoho 2009). The attempt to encourage mother tongue MOI is often seen as an attempt to suppress rather than liberate; this has been the case from the colonial period. Sometimes, it is because the advantage of L1 MOI is not explained to them. Also a further complication as explained in Bodomo et al. (2009) is that some children are unable to acquire either L1 of their parents in cases where the parents speak different L1s and are forced to use English as the language of the home. Never the less, the education of all stakeholders of education on the advantages of L1 MOI is important (Bodomo et al. 2009). It is important to note that the LEPs prescribed by the government, apply to only government assisted schools. There are hundreds of private primary schools in Ghana, especially in the urban areas tagged 'international' whose MOI is English.

Post-colonial LEP in Tanzania

After independence in 1961, Tanzania continued with the colonial policy of Kiswahili as MOI in primary (1-4) and English in middle school (5-8). When middle school was abolished, in 1967, and primary education was re-defined as (1-7), Nyerere's administration instituted Kiswahili as the MOI for primary school education. Note that 1967 was also the launch of the famous Arusha Declaration and the point at which Kiswahili was established as the national language and therefore, officially made the MOI of all government sponsored primary schools under the adoption of the Education for Self-Reliance Policy. English continued to be the MOI in secondary and tertiary education.

Work was undertaken by various Language Policy Agencies set up by the government, such as the then Institute of Kiswahili Research (IKR) (now Institute of Kiswahili Studies) and National Swahili Council (NSC) to chart out and to ensure the implementation of Kiswahili as MOI at the secondary and tertiary levels of education. This implementation of Kiswahili as MOI was to begin in 1971; however, this did not happen. (Blommeart 1997). In 1982, a Presidential Commission on Education set up by the President to review the LEP in its report, recommended implementation of the policy of Kiswahili as the sole MOI at all levels of Education in 1985 (Lwaitama and Rugemalira 1990 cited in Sa 2007; Rwezaura 1993; Kiango 2005). This policy however, never saw the 'light of day'. There are several factors that account for the reluctance, on the part of government and policy makers, to implement this policy despite the fact that all necessary preparations were made (Dzahene- Quarshie 2009b). Consequently, Tanzania has not seen any change in its language policy since her Independence. To date, the MOI at the primary level remains to be Kiswahili while English assumes its major role in secondary and tertiary education.

The assertion that the late President Nyerere advocated for a Kiswahili

only policy in education is not quite accurate because his strongest advocacy was the development of a bilingual Tanzania. He embraced a balanced bilingual Tanzanian society with respect to Kiswahili and English, a consequence of the increased pressure to give in to the World Bank /IMF requirements for structural adjustment (Dzahene-Quarshie 2009b).

There have emerged two main views expressed by stakeholders concerning the choice of LEP. Some advocate Kiswahili as MOI and others prefer English (Brock-Utne 2002). The growth in preference for English MOI is evidenced in the rate at which English medium private primary schools have mushroomed all over the urban centres in the country in the last decade (Dzahene-Quarshie 2009a). There are a couple of motivations for an English MOI: (1) high failure rates in English and other subjects in national examinations; (2) the globalization of English. These two aspects have become the main reasons that some stakeholders prefer English over Kiswahili.

Clearly, there are challenges with the implementation of the bilingual LEP in Tanzania which need to be resolved. The failure of the Kiswahili MOI policy would negatively impact aspirants in other African countries who would like to use Tanzania as an example of success to elevate local languages to MOIs.

4. Similarities and differences in the LEPs of the two countries

Both Ghana and Tanzania manifests a form of bilingual education policy. However, they are distinct in various ways. While Ghana advocates for an Early Exit-Transition Bilingual Education (ETBE), Tanzania prefers a Late Exit-Transition Bilingual Education (LTBE). These two models of bilingual education are also commonly used by several countries in Africa. In the ETBE, L1 is used as MOI in the first few years of primary

education and English takes over later as was practised in Ghana until 2002. In the LTBE, L1 is used as MOI for a longer period and English takes over (throughout primary education) and L2 takes over (throughout secondary education) as practised in Tanzania presently. The main difference between the two countries' policies is the choice of local language in education. Although both countries are highly multilingual, in fact in terms of number, Tanzania is even more highly multilingual than Ghana with 129 languages, the advantage it has over Ghana is the success in promoting and developing Kiswahili to the extent that almost the entire population speaks it either as an L1 or L2. It is also the national and official language. In this sense it can be argued that the society, to some extent, can be regarded as monolingual. This simplifies their language problems because the major competition is between English and Kiswahili. In contrast, linguistic homogeneity is relatively minimal in Ghana, especially in urban areas. Consequently, implementing a local language MOI at any level often poses a challenge. The converging point for the two countries, as perceived by the majority of stakeholders, is the inability of the educational system to produce students who are reasonably bilingual in English and the local language.

5. The Challenges of LEPs in Ghana and Tanzania

As noted above, despite the differences in linguistic landscapes and LEPs of the two countries, both countries face serious problems as demonstrated by high failure rates in English as well as other non-language subjects at various levels of the education system.

In Tanzania the main problem is the transition between the MOI in Primary and Secondary education. Students are often not able to acquire appreciable proficiency in English to prepare them adequately for an English MOI at the secondary school level. As a result of this and in anticipation

for their children’s success in English and further education, many parents resort to sending their children to private English medium primary schools.

Ghana experiences similar outcomes. Already some scholars and other stakeholders have come out to condemn the change in policy and the debate continues. Owu Ewie (2006) argues that the “English Only" option is not a better option for Ghana. He contends that the Late-Exit Bilingual model of education can be effective if it is implemented in the right way. In response to the current language crisis in Tanzania several scholars Rubagumya (1991), and Brock-Utne (2002) have advocated for a monolingual model in which Kiswahili would be the sole MOI throughout the education system as a possible solution.

However, there are others who advocate for a monolingual L2 (English Only) model for Tanzania. The assumption is that an early introduction of English as MOI will ensure appreciable proficiency by the secondary school level. A bilingual model has also been viewed as a possible solution by Sa (2007); and Vavrus (2002). Rubagumya (2002) suggests that an ‘additive bilingualism’ would be a more helpful option. Among other reasons given as justification for these views is the fact that English is not delivering and most Tanzanians would not advance beyond Primary level and therefore may not need to use English at all after school, a view that was also upheld by President Nyerere earlier on. Nevertheless, the fact that they may be out of school does not mean they may not need English.

6. The Way Forward

Based on the foregoing discussion, the way forward is to take time and analyse the problems that hinder the effectiveness of the current policies and make the necessary adjustments to ensure a good balance between the use of Kiswahili and English (Dzahene-Quarshie 2009b). In our view, apart from addressing problems that stem from the lack of adequate resources

in the Teaching of English, poor teaching methods and poorly trained teachers which result in high levels of incompetence, there is need to create a sustainable model that is implementable. Considering that the LTBE is supposed to prevent a sharp transition between the two levels in order to produce balanced bilingual students, the Tanzanian policy has not been able to achieve that. An implementable model would resolve this dilemma.

The LTBE model that Owu-Ewie (2006) proposes for the Ghanaian dilemma promises to yield better results, especially in the Tanzanian situation where although Kiswahili is L2 for most speakers, the overall proficiency is as good if not better than that of their L1. In other words, because Tanzania has embraced Kiswahili to the extent that it could be referred to as reasonably monolingual, it would, and to some extent, be easier to deal with its dilemma than Ghana which is a typical multilingual society with a complex language ecology as described in Bodomo et al (2009).

Despite the challenges that the LEPs of both countries face, we believe they can learn valuable lessons from each other. The English only LEP for both countries may not be the solution to their dilemma. Although the perception is that the source of the problem could be the inappropriateness of the LEPs, we believe that the root cause of the problem may be the failure to implement the policies in a manner that will allow sustainable success. The policies should not be politically motivated but should embrace constructive advice, academic ideas, and support from education scholars. These should include teachers who are in the trenches ‘day in and day out’; experts in education administration, stakeholders (industry and businesses) and the government. All the expertise might not reside in the two countries. Even if it did, it would be highly advisable to attract expertise from countries that have succeeded in overcoming the linguistic colonial legacy. These include countries like Japan, India, and China, to name only a few.

Tanzania is making small steps by publishing texts books of the various

subjects; mathematics, science, etc in Kiswahili. This is a step Ghana has yet to take. Teaching in the local language when the books are in English creates additional responsibility and a burden on the teachers to translate the teaching materials for the students.

Some scholars have also pointed out that the dilemma is exacerbated by harsh economic realities; a lack of adequate human and material resources needed in the teaching of English and other subjects, poor teaching methods and levels of teacher incompetence. So, although the model of LEP needs immediate attention, governments need to commit adequate resources to education to address the dilemma. Generally education receives very little funding compared to other services funded by African government. A successful and sustainable LEP cannot be implemented without adequate funding. It may take a linguistic patriot or revolutionist, the likes of Nkrumah or Nyerere to effect such a change. It seems that the African governments of today lack the passion to "take the bull by the horns" in addressing the LEP problems plaguing many African countries. Rather many leaders take the "easier way out" by ignoring the dilemma and accepting the status quo.

7. Conclusion

The paper has attempted to demonstrate that though Ghana and Tanzania had similar colonial experiences in terms of LEPs, after gaining independence, they adopted somehow different language policies, that is national, official and educational policies. We have also pointed out that an issue that is common to the two countries is the challenge of successful implementation of their LEPs and the inability to yield the expected result. We have indicated that there are lessons that can be drawn from the experiences of each of these countries as they both continue to seek lasting solutions to the shortcomings of their LEPs. We noted that both countries

suffered and continue to suffer from inheriting a colonial legacy that had both the colonial language and local African languages playing a role in Education. The dilemma of deciding between colonial languages and the local languages and their roles in LEP is an aftermath of colonialism that Africa has been unable to effectively resolve.

It is, therefore important to encourage leaders and the citizens of the two countries not to succumb to the pressure of de-emphasizing the role of local languages in the education system by promoting English medium schools or English as the only medium of instruction. Crystal (2005:508-514) enumerates the risks of accepting one language, namely English, to serve the world. These include the risk of monopoly by one language whose manipulative tendencies may lead to the marginalization and eventual language death of other less prestigious languages.

These risks are real for Africa but at different degrees in each of the fifty five countries. The risks are extenuated depending on the level of dependency on foreign languages for communication, education, and trade. Tanzania's risk is minimal compared to Ghana, but it could rise if drastic measures are not taken to slow down the mushrooming of English medium schools (elementary through high school).

Additionally, Schmied (1991) discusses the Status of English in Africa. He correctly observes that there are persistent inequities in practice and application of resources available to L-2 English speakers. Specifically African scholars face sociolinguistic or grammatical problems as they try to express their ideas in English in an English only academy. Furthermore, despite the claim for global English, many written works in English around the globe remain unpublished due to sociolinguistic stereo-typing of both the authors and the texts. Thus, those who believe that English will propel their success to the world stage need reminding that while there is some truth to it such truth is also coloured by these inequities. Not every citizen will emerge as an example of how English made it better for them or how the local language(s) made it worse for them. Personal, cultural, and

national identities are best preserved through one's language(s) and culture(s).

We noted that Ghana and Tanzania could learn from countries which emerged from colonialism like India, China, and Japan who were able to put in place highly effective local language policies. The lack of political-will that the model countries mentioned above have has been one of the major obstacles for Ghana and Tanzania and many other African countries in shaking off the colonial legacy. Other successful countries include Scandinavian countries (Denmark, Norway, and Finland etc.) that have been able to implement local language MOI policies successfully and have succeeded in achieving proficiency in English even though it is taught as a subject throughout primary and secondary education. Clearly these countries have invested heavily in the development of a sustainable MOI while recognizing the importance of English as an international language. English is emphasized in higher education while local languages assume a major role in primary and secondary education. Countries like these fit the example of needed outside and successful expertise for Ghana and Tanzania. Both countries could learn a lot from them and without doubt these countries are big on giving international funding support for education in developing and underdeveloped nations. The most valuable aid would be their scholarly and administrative expertise.

❖ References

Andoh-Kumi, Kingsley. Qualitative Research from a University/ Ministry Partnership: Informing School Language Policy Decisions. A paper presented at the annual conference of the Comparative International Education Society, San Antonio, Texas. March 8. 1991.

Anyidoho, Akosua. First language in the education of children in multilingual Ghana. *The New Legon Observer: A Ghana Society for Development Dialogue Publication* 3(1): 7th January.2009.

Anyidoho, Akosua. And Mary Esther Kropp Dakubu. Ghana: indigenous languages, English, and an emerging national identity. In Simpson, A. (Ed.). *Language and National identity in Africa* Oxford, U.K: Oxford University Press. 2008. 141-157.

Ayafor, Isaiah. M. Proceedings of the 4th symposium on bilingualism, (Eds.) James Cohen, kara T. McAlister, Kellie Rolstad, and Jeff MacSwan, Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press. 2005. 123-142.

Blommaert, Jan. *State ideology and language: The politics of Swahili in Tanzania* Published as LICCA paper nr.3 Duisburg; Gerhard Mercator University. 1997.

Bodomo, Adams., Jemima Asabea Anderson and, Josephine Dzahene-Quarshie. A kente of many colours: Multilingualism as a complex ecology of language shift in Ghana. *Sociolinguistic Studies* 3(3): 2009. 357-380.

Bokamba, Eyamba G. Arguments for multilingual policies in the public domain of Africa in L. Moshi & A. A. Osman (Eds.). *Democracy and culture: An African perspective.* London: Adonis and Abbey Publishers Ltd. 2008. 65-99.

Brock-Utne, Brigit. The most recent developments concerning the debate on language of instruction in Tanzania, Presented to *the NETREED Conference from 7th to the 9th of January.* 2002.

Crystal, David. Globalizing English. In Walters and Michal Brody (Eds). *What language got to do with it?* 2005.(504-514). W.W. Norton and Co. New York, NY.

Dzahene-Quarshie, Josephine. Globalization of an Africa language: Truth or fiction? *Legon Journal of the Humanities.* 2009a. 69-87.

Dzahene-Quarshie, Josephine. Swahili verses English in Tanzania: The win-win situation. In Moshi, L. & O. Akinloye (Eds.). *Language pedagogy and language use in Africa.* Adonis and Abbey Publishers Ltd. 2009b. 61-81.

Dzameshie, Alex. K. Language policy and the common language controversy in Ghana. *Research Review.* MS 4.2. 1988.

Eyiah, Joe. K. Brief history of state-organised education in Ghana. Feature Article of Saturday, 27 March www.ghanaweb.com 2004.

Hunt-Johnson, N. J. Language Policy in Use in Zaire: issues, Influences and Directions *http://gse.upenn.edu/wpel/s⋯2n2Hunt-Johnson.pdf*

Ishumi, Abel. G. and T. L. Maliyamkono, Education for self-reliance. In Colin Legum and Geofrey. Mmari (Eds.). *Mwalimu: The influence of Nyerere*. Oxford: Marston Books Services Limited. 2003. 46-60.

Kiango, John. G. Tanzania's historical contribution to the recognition and promotion of Swahili. *Africa and Asia*, 5: 2005. 157-166.

Krashen, Stephen. D. Bilingual education: A focus on current research, NCBE FOCUS. *Occasional Papers in Bilingual Education.* 3. http://www.ncela.gwu.edu/pubs/focus/focus3.htm 1991.

Kropp Dakubu, Mary Esther. Language and Africa. In Manuh, Tekyiwa. & Esi Sutherland-Addy (Eds.). *Africa in contemporary perspective: A textbook for Undergraduate students*. Sub Saharan Publishers: Accra. 2013. 78-93.

Kusimba, Chapurukha M. The rise and fall of Swahili States. Walnut Creek, California, Altamira Press. 1999.

Mazrui, Ali. and Alamin M. Mazrui. Swahili State and Society: The political economy of an African language. Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers Ltd. 1995.

Maxon, Robert M. *East Africa: An introductory history.* West Virginia University Press. 1994.

Mfum-Mensah, Obed. The Impact of colonial and postcolonial Ghanaian language policies on vernacular use in schools in two northern Ghanaian communities. *Comparative education,* 4(1): 2005. 71-85.

Obeng, Gyasi Samuel. An Analysis of the Linguistic Situation in Ghana. *African languages and culture,* 10(1): 1997. 63-81.

Owu-Ewie, Charles. The language policy of education on Ghana: a critical look at the English-only language policy of education. Ohio University, Athens: Ohio. 2006.

Roy-Campbell, Zaline. M. Globalisation, language and education: A comparative studies of the United States and Tanzania. *International review of education,* 47(3-4): 2001. 267-282.

Rubagumya, Casmir M. Language promotion for education purpose: The example of Tanzania. *Internal review of education,* 37(1): 1991. 67-85.

Rubagumya, Casmir M. English medium primary schools in Tanzania: a new 'linguistic market' in education". A Paper Presented at the workshop on language of instruction in Tanzania and South Africa. 22nd to 24th April, Morogoro, Tanzania. 2002.

Rugemalira, Josephat. M. Theoretical and practical challenges in a Tanzanian English medium primary school. *Africa & Asia*, 5: 2005. 66-84.

Rwezaura, Bart. Constraining factors to the adoption of Kiswahili as a language of law in Tanzania, *Journal of African Law*, 37(1): 1993. 30-45.

Sa, Eleuthera. Language policy for education and development in Tanzania. http://www.swarthmore.edu/socsci/linguistics/pPapers/2007/sa-eleuthera.pdf. 2007.

Sellers, M. Attitudes, ambitions, and the language of education: debates on the language of instruction in the Ghanaian Education System. 2007.

Schmied, Josef. English in Africa: An Introduction. Longman, New York, NY. 1991.

Topan, Farouk. Tanzania: The development of Swahili as a national and official language In A. Simpson (Ed.). *Language and national identity in Africa,* Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2008. 252-266.

Vavrus, Frances. Postcoloniality and English: Exploring language policy and politics of development in Tanzania, *TESOL Quarterly,* 36(3): 2002. 373-397.

Whitely, Wilfred H. *Swahili: The rise of a national language*. London: Methuen. 1969.

A Cross-Cultural Study on Student Engagement and Resistance to Critical Literacy in a TESOL MA Classroom

Rod Pederson
(Associate Professor in English Education, Incheon National University)

▌ABSTRACT ▌

This paper reports on a qualitative examining the cross-cultural reasons for student engagement and resistance to critical literacy in a three week summer TESOL MA course that was part of a Korean/American university faculty exchange program. Of particular interest was the unique diversity of the class which consisted of 13 subjects from 9 different nations. Using student and instructor reflective journals, field notes on classroom observations, and the course terminal paper on student's philosophies of education as research corpora, results of the study revealed that students resisted instruction in critical literacy for ideological and epistemological reasons. Nonetheless, the data also showed that while all students resisted some theories in critical literacy, all students nonetheless engaged the course content in meaningful ways.

Key Words
Critical Literacy, TESOL, Cross-Cultural Studies, Qualitative Research, Cultural Studies

INTRODUCTION

As a critical pedagogue who has taught courses in critical literacy to graduate students in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) and English education Master's programs in Korea and the United States for the past 15 years, I have been fascinated with the issue of why some students eagerly engage the core concepts of critical literacy while others steadfastly resist these ideas. Given that the professional literature in TESOL over the past 15 years has seen a marked increase in articles dealing with issues that are derived from theories of critical literacy, such as studies on second language identity (McNamara, 1997; Norton, 2006; Pederson, 2010), voice (Norton, 1997; Pennycook, 1999), race (Kubota & Lin, 2006; Motha, 2006) and linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 1992; Canagarajah, 1999), one might assume that these theories have become more acceptable to graduate students regardless of their nationalities and ethnicities. While this 'sociocultural turn' in applied linguistics (Johnson, 2006) is fairly recent, these theories have been widely known and used in the fields of English education, cultural studies, and media literacy for the past 20-30 years. Many critical educators (Case, & Hemmings, 2005; Langan & Davidson, 2005; Seas, 2006) in recent years have investigated the question of why students resist these ideas and if there are specific social factors, such as gender, ethnicity, social class, and political affiliation that that underlie higher levels of student resistance to critical literacy. As such, these inquiries are multicultural not only in that the student classroom compositions are multicultural, but that the theories and practice of critical literacy are multicultural in nature as well (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; Macedo, 2003; Giroux, 2005).

Although the question of student resistance to critical literacy is interesting in itself, it obfuscates the equally impelling question of why some students actively engage in the study of critical literacy and if these students have any defining characteristics in common. It is notable that this question

is not addressed in the professional literature in terms of published research and is only addressed indirectly in terms of theory, i.e., situated forms of inquiry in English education, cultural studies, feminist, and post-colonial approaches to English education that assume a more natural acceptance to critical literacy in marginalized populations. Of course, these assumptions overlook the dynamics of why students from dominant social groups are also attracted to critical literacy, even though it may be that the percentages of students from such groups who show interest are significantly smaller, as theories such as white privilege (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; Lynn, 1999) would predict. Adding to the difficulties of investigating such questions is the issue of student diversity in graduate classrooms. Although graduate classrooms around the world may have become more diverse over recent years, the majority of such classrooms are still affected by the localities of their residence, and as such, tend to have larger numbers of students from local populations. The majority of studies investigating some of these issues reflect this classroom dynamic as they tend to focus on one aspect, such as male resistance to feminist theory (Orr, 1993 Case & Hemmings, 2005), in classrooms that have a clearly dominant group of students. Therefore, in order to gain a better understanding of why students engage or resist theories of critical literacy, and if such resistance is affected by socio-cultural affiliations, studies need to be done in more diverse classroom settings. These issues are important to cross-cultural studies as the theoretical and pedagogical base of critical literacy is heavily invested in promoting issues of social justice, empathy, and social transformation through education across cultures, ethnicities, genders, and sexual preferences. In addition, critical literacy embodies the recent call for a 'cultural studies' approach to English education that better prepares students to understand and participate in increasingly diverse local and global societies (Peim, 2003; Kincheloe, & Steinberg, 2007).

The purpose of this study is to investigate whether, and to what extent, socio-cultural factors such as ethnicity, nationality, and epistemological

orientation affect student engagement and resistance to critical literacy. This study is part of an ongoing longitudinal study investigating the nature of cross-cultural graduate student understandings of critical and post-structural/post-modern literature in applied linguistics through the qualitative analysis of student literacy autobiographies and philosophies of education (Pederson, 2010). The data gathered for this study was collected from a three week intensive summer course (Critical Literacy in TESL) the author taught as part of an ongoing faculty exchange program between the Woosong University (WSU) TESOL-MALL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages-Multi-Media Assisted Language Learning) MA Program, South Korea, and the TESL (Teaching English as a Second Language) MA Program at St. Cloud State University (SCSU), in St. Cloud, Minnesota. Of particular interest and relevance to the research questions asked in this study is the diverse student makeup of the class that consisted of 13 subjects from 9 different nations. The diversity of participants in this study should produce more comprehensive data on how critical literacy is received by disparate socio-cultural groups and thereby provide deeper insights into the how and why of student engagement and resistance to critical literacy.

LITERATURE REVIEW

CRITICAL LITERACY

Defining the meaning of critical literacy is an exercise beyond the scope of this paper as the scholarly works that define themselves as being within critical literacy are too numerous and too broad in scope to be able to summarize in anything less than a full length journal article, or monograph. In addition, the fields of critical literacy, critical pedagogy, critical media literacy, and critical theory (sociology) are often conflated to the effect

that the amorphous boundaries between these fields of study have very little actual meaning. To add to the confusion, cultural studies, feminist theory, and queer theory are often included in a mix of what might best be called 'critical' approaches to education, or simply 'criticality' (Sung & Pederson, 2102). Generally, these diverse critical approaches to education share basic understandings of theoretical concepts such as situated learning, dialogism, intertextuality, representation, social constructivism, inquiry, historiography, and post-structural notions of discourse that are grounded in viewing education as a transformative social practice for the purposes of enhancing social justice, social agency, and democracy (Giroux, 2005; Sung & Pederson, 2012). Ira Shor (1999) gives a reasonably succinct and general definition to critical literacy as:

> …language use that questions the social construction of the self. When we are critically literate, we examine our ongoing development, to reveal the subjective positions from which we make sense of the world and act in it. All of us grow up and live in local cultures set in global contexts where multiple discourses shape us (p.7).

While Shor's definition locates the interests of critical literacy within dynamics of the social uses of language and texts, this definition would be equally applicable to the other 'critical fields' mentioned above. Sung and Pederson (2012) summarize this debate over the delineations between the various critical fields of study by concluding that:

> the meaning of "being critical" is embedded in a specific, yet very wide body of literatures and practices, and is contextual to the individual educator and the context[s] of her practice (p.158).

Therefore, for the purposes of clarity critical literacy will be used as an umbrella term that subsumes all of the critical fields of study mentioned above.

RESISTANCE

According to Giroux (1983), resistance is defined as the reasons for why students do not actively engage in learning activities in public school classrooms. Or, conversely, resistance is theorized as being a product of curricula and pedagogies that have little or nothing to do with student lives in terms of the values, beliefs, and experiences of the students. While much of this definition specifically points to socially marginalized groups who are not part of the dominant discourse of public education, it also explicates why many of the students from the dominant, white-middle class discourse of the schools are also disaffected. Giroux's theory of resistance also theorizes how to engage students in learning by valuing their culture, experiences, and bodies of knowledge, as well as including these things into the curricula through forms of inquiry education. Thus, Giroux's theory of resistance becomes an elegant tool in critical literacy as it not only defines engagement and resistance, but also provides a theoretical direction for curriculum and instruction (Freire & Macedo, 1987; Shor, 1999).

Much research in critical literacy has been devoted to investigating why students resist instruction in critical literacy. Generally, this research focuses on the reasons why specific socio-cultural groups may resist instruction in the tenets of critical literacy. While all forms of resistance may be said to be ideological in nature (Giroux, 2011), the majority of these studies focus on how issues of race, social class, gender, which also commonly serve as foci for explicating the underlying mechanisms of social inequality in theories of critical literacy (Sung & Pederson, 2012), serve as socially divisive mechanisms that lead to student resistance. Other studies also report issues of job anxiety (Shor, 1999), orientations towards positivistic epistemological views (Riley & Claris, 2009), the power relations between teacher and student (Seas, 2006), and institutional socialization (Fobes & Kaufman, 2008) as alternative causes of student resistance to critical

literacy. However, from a post-structural perspective, all of these diverse causes of resistance are similar in that they are reported to arise from socialization into specific discursive practices within given societies or cultures. In other words, subjects derive their values, beliefs, ideals, and social practices from the discourses they are raised in (Foucault, 1984; Bourdieu, 1991) and defend against, or resist, conflicting perspectives. As such, while intuition might lead one to think that resistance to critical literacy might predominantly be a manifestation of the guilt or shame subjects may have of belonging to a social group that has historically marginalized other social groups, such as males marginalizing females in the workforce, these studies report that it is the socialization into specific discursive identities that is the primary underlying cause of resistance. Nonetheless, these studies do not reject the notion of guilt or shame as a contributing factor to student resistance to critical literacy, and as such, this issue should be a matter for further research.

In terms of the common reasons for resistance to critical literacy (race, social class, gender), it is clear that group affiliation/identity is widely reported as the root cause. Recent studies investigating how issues of gender create resistance to critical literacy in university courses were done in the fields of composition (Orr, 1993), Science and engineering (Fobes & Kaufman, 2008), and education (McKinney, 2005) found that resistance was rooted in the discursive construction of male masculine identities. Orr (1993) goes on to point out that it is the challenge to a subject's masculine identity, not an issue of pedagogy or curriculum that causes resistance to the feminist strain in critical literacy.

> "…male students' resistance is not an artifact of some particular feminist pedagogic technique but is instead a function of the challenge feminism poses to men socialized into this culture's norm(s) of masculinity" (p.??).

Similarly, studies investigating issues of race as a cause of resistance

to critical literacy found that challenges to subject's racial identity to be the primary contributing factor (McKinney, 2005). Case & Hemmings (2005) found that white women pre-service teachers used the 'distancing strategies' of silence, social dissociation, and separation from responsibility to resist anti-racist forms of critical literacy in response to their perceptions that the curriculum was positioning them as being racist, implicated in institutional racism, and racial discrimination. While no studies were found that specifically investigated social class as a cause of student resistance to critical literacy, all of the literature surveyed in this study linked social class to the discursive construction of identity and, thus, social class may be theorized as being linked to subjects' perceptions of race and gender (Mclaren, 2006; Giroux, 2011). Finally, some studies found epistemological orientation to be a contributing factor to student resistance to critical literacy (Riley & Claris, 2009). Specifically, positivistic views of science, or the 'myth of objectivity', were cited as driving factors for student resistance. In other words, students socialized into positivistic forms of education actively resisted the post-structural perspectives that serve as a part of the theoretical foundations of critical literacy, such as the social construction or subjectivity of knowledge, truth being contextual, and the discursive construction of socio-cultural power relations (Foucault, 1984; Bourdieu, 1991).

ENGAGEMENT

Literature in critical literacy addressing student engagement is primarily theoretical in nature. So much so, that it is extremely difficult to find any empirical studies examining how using pedagogical techniques derived from critical literacy foster student engagement. The only studies that could be found within recent years were Shin & Crookes' (2005) *Exploring the possibilities for EFL critical pedagogy in Korea: A two-part case study* and McInerney's (2009) *Toward a critical pedagogy of engagement*

for alienated youth: insights from Freire and school-based research. Shin & Crookes (2005) found that Korean high and middle school students were not resistant to critical pedagogical techniques while McInerney (2009) found that a 'critical pedagogy of engagement' greatly reduced student resistance in Australian public schools. What is significant about this apparent paucity of research on student engagement in critical literacy is not the absence of empirical research on the subject, but the theoretical orientation which drives research in a different direction. Simply put, research in critical literacy tends to examine the causes of what (McInerney (2009) calls 'anti-resistance', instead of focusing on the how or why critical literacy engages students in learning.

Derived from Giroux's (1983) seminal work *Theory and Resistance in Education: Towards a Pedagogy for the Opposition*, the notion of anti-engagement focuses on the various reasons why students resist the traditional curricula and pedagogies that exist in K-12 education including, culturally specific (biased) curricula that alienates and/or marginalizes other cultural groups or discourses, the 'hidden curriculum' of economic logic that focuses curriculum on employment niches, and curricula that has little relation to student lives. This theoretical orientation is not surprising to those versed in critical literacy as it is well known that the major impetus in critical literacy is a drive for social justice and social agency in society through education by demystifying the ideologies that produce social inequalities in terms of race, class, and gender (Shor, 1999; McLaren, 2006). As such, both the theoretical literature and empirical studies that touch on the subject of student engagement look instead to how issues of race, class, and gender in curriculum and pedagogy alienate and disempower students, as opposed to if, or how, it engages them. However, this orientation towards understanding student engagement in terms of resistance to education, does not mean that the concept of engagement does not exist within critical literacy theory. Focusing on the causes of student resistance to curriculum and pedagogy as a means to foster student

engagement is a common approach in critical literacy as it is assumed that the reasons for such resistance are what prevents active student engagement in the classroom (Freire & Macedo, 1987; Shor, 1999). Giroux (2003) emphasizes the rationale underlying this approach to student engagement by stating that:

> Students marginalized by class, race, and gender were seldom invited to participate in the educational discourses, pedagogical practices, and institutional relations that shaped their everyday lives. Even worse, they were often marginalized and oppressed within such discourses and social formations. (p.12)

Given the understanding that many students are regularly subjected to such conditions in K-12 education, it is a matter of common sense to assume that curriculum and instruction that address these failings would increase student engagement.

Derived from Freire's (1987) conception of literacy as 'reading the word and the world', theories in critical literacy look as much to active student engagement as to enhancing social justice and social agency through the basic pedagogical principles of situated learning, dialogism, critical reflection, democratic practices, and student activism (Shor, 1999). Although Freire (1987) does not specifically evoke situated learning, as his work was prior to Lave & Wenger's (1991) seminal work on the subject, he nonetheless evokes the theory in his conception of literacy through the reading of the 'world', which equates to students investigating their own social context in relation to the larger society. Thus, students not only gain a greater understanding of the socio-political machinations of their social positioning, but also become more engaged in learning as they are intimately connected to the content of instruction. In addition, this aspect of situated learning is also connected to the concept of critical reflection, or inquiry, through a specific orientation towards knowledge as it instantiates the belief that students' knowledge and experiences are

valuable aspects of the curriculum and overall learning experience (Barton & Hamilton, 2000; Pederson). In recent literature, this concept is often referred to as 'voice', or the right to signify, and is linked to enhanced student engagement (Norton, 1997; Pennycook, 1999). Similarly, dialogism, or the sharing of student insights, experiences, and results of inquiry through discussion, may be seen as an exercise in voice and inquiry, both of which may be said to enhance student engagement as students are invested in their inquiry as it a situated practice. Democratic practices refer to students having input into the curriculum, evaluation, and daily practices of the classroom, which also increases student voice and investment in learning as they are more directly involved in classroom practices (Norton, 1997; Pennycook, 1999). Finally, the concept of student activism, which Freire (1987) calls 'publishing', gives further impetus to student voice, agency, and engagement through the final step in a pedagogical process of situated student inquiry by necessitating some form of student action (letter, blog, web page, project, etc.,) demonstrating what they have learned through an informed political position on the topic under question. Thus, it becomes clear that these basic pedagogical concepts of critical literacy are seamlessly connected in ways that foster student voice, agency, and engagement in learning. McInerney (2009) aptly summates how theories of resistance in critical literacy translate into pedagogical strategies for student engagement by raising the following questions:

> If we deny subjectivity, silence student voices, show scant respect for children and their culture, suppress the creative capacities of individuals and close down spaces for inquiry, we are likely to reinforce existing patterns of alienation and disaffection amongst young people. Why would students want to learn in such an environment? Why would they not withdraw their assent? (p.31)

RESEARCH DESIGN

This study is an ancillary report on a longitudinal, ongoing, study utilizing TESOL MA students' literacy autobiographies as data to investigate how students used the reflective practice of writing a literacy autobiography to understand the origins of their systems of knowledge, values, and beliefs for the purposes of better understanding the nature, purposes, and outcomes of teaching and learning, and, to gain insight into how students are responding to their exposure to critical and post-structural/post-modern literature in applied linguistics (Pederson, 2012). The impetus for this ancillary study developed prior to the commencement of an annual summer TESOL MA course the researcher teaches at an American university entitled *Critical Literacy in TESL*. As the course was uniquely diverse in terms of student's socio-cultural backgrounds, the researcher decided that the course was a unique opportunity gather data on how critical and post-structural/ postmodern approaches to applied linguistics are received and understood by students from different socio-cultural backgrounds, as well as gathering data relevant to the ongoing study regarding how such literature affects student's world views and identities.

The setting for this study was a summer TESOL MA course (*Critical Literacy in TESL*) that was part of a faculty and student exchange program between Woosong University TESOL-MALL MA Program in Daejeon (WSU), South Korea and St. Cloud State University TESL Program in St. Cloud, Minnesota (SCSU), with the course being held at St. Cloud State University. The course was held five days a week for three weeks for a period of three and one half hours from July 8 through July 26, 2013. The researcher had taught the course for the previous 4 summers and the course always had high enrollments as the SCSU TESOL MA curriculum did not include critical education courses. The course utilized a seminar format where course readings served as material for open class discussion. While class discussions were driven by student interests in

the literature and the connections they made between the literature and their own experiences, the discussions were nonetheless semi-structured in nature as the instructor often guided the discussions to address specific theoretical points in the literature, such as the functions of complicity within hegemonic systems and the differences between individual and systematic perceptions of race and gender bias. The assigned literature for the course reflected the wide base of literature in critical literacy which also included readings from the fields of critical pedagogy (Freire, & Macedo, 1987; Kincheloe, & Steinberg, 1997), cultural studies (Hall, 1997; Giroux, 2011), sociology (Foucault, 1984; Bourdieu, 1991), and applied linguistics (Canagarajah, 1999; Pennycook, 1999). In addition, the assigned readings for the course were not pre-selected, but assigned daily in order to follow student interests. As such, the course was designed to provide a wide base of foundational theoretical concepts that might interest students, broaden their theoretical horizons, allow them to begin to usefully critique their field of study and their own teaching practices, and serve as an impetus for further study.

This study employs a qualitative, mixed methods approach in investigating how TESOL MA students respond to critical and post-structural/postmodern educational literature and instruction. Creswell (2000, 2001) explicates mixed method research approaches as the weaving together of two or more research techniques to better document and understand the research problem under study. According to Creswell, mixed method approaches may include both quantitative and qualitative research techniques, or may employ multiple research techniques with in one paradigm, whether qualitative or quantitative. However, mixed method approaches are generally understood to employ techniques from both paradigms (Creswell, 2003, Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). This study employs a mixed methods approach that utilizes three qualitative research techniques including daily reflective journals by students as a response to daily readings and by the instructor/researcher on the nature and developments of the course, field

notes by the instructor/researcher written immediately after each class to document class discussions, and an analysis of the student's terminal course papers (philosophy of education). In addition, both participant observation and action research were also part of the research design. As the instructor was an active participant in class discussions, the negotiation of assigned readings with students, and whose observations served as data sets, participant observation was utilized as a research technique (Spradley, 1980). Although it was not the intent of this study to be viewed as, or present itself as an action research study, the dynamics of the course fit an action research paradigm as instructor reflection on student responses to the course content were part of a feedback loop that determined future course content (Stringer, 2007). It may also be stated that this form of reflective pedagogy is common to practitioners of critical literacy (Shor, 1999; Kincheloe & Steinberg (1997). As the purpose of this study was to investigate how students from a diversity of cultures and nations responded to literature and instruction in critical and post-structural/postmodern theories of education, the study focused on the extent to which on issues of race, nationality, and epistemological orientation affected student engagement and resistance.

PARTICIPANTS

The student composition of the course consisted of 4 White American students, 6 international students from 5 different nations, and three US immigrants from 3 different nations, giving a total of 13 subjects from 9 different nations. All of the students were members of the SCSU TESL MA program and had not previously been exposed to any of the wide theoretical base that encapsulates critical literacy. As some of the issues that arose during class discussions may be viewed as controversial, and in some nations potentially actionable, the student names in the following

class roster have been assigned pseudonyms to protect the anonymity of the students:

1. Azad: Male, Turkey; immigrant
2. Burhan: Male, Saudi Arabia
3. Claire: Female, Ghana
4. David: Male, United States
5. Haddad: Male, Bangladesh
6. Hua Ling: Female, Taiwan
7. Janice: Female, US
8. Mada: Female, Saudi Arabia
9. Mardea: Female, Cameroon; Immigrant
10. Sadiah: Female, Pakistan; immigrant
11. Sara: Female, United States
12. Thomas: Male, United States
13. Wei: Female, China

DATA COLLECTION

FIELD NOTES

In order to document the content and nature of classroom discussions the instructor/researcher wrote field notes during class discussions and immediately after the end of each class for a period of up to 30 minutes. The purpose of these field notes were to document the actual student and teacher interactions that occurred during the class (Creswell, 2003). In addition to recording accurate details of class discussion, the researcher also included student's apparent affective responses to the literature and discussions, such as excitement, interest, doubt, discovery, disgust, anger and other such emotional and intellectual responses. As the course content

was determined daily by the instructor to reflect student interests, the field notes also served as a tool to match burgeoning student interests to relevant literature to be assigned as course readings.

STUDENT AND INSTRUCTOR REFLECTIVE JOURNALS

Students in the course were assigned daily reflective journals for the purposes of focusing their consideration of the theories presented in course literature and class discussions, as well as providing useful data for the study. In order to gain greater insight into the students thought processes, students were informed that their journal entries could address both the literature and discussions of the course. The instructor/researcher wrote reflective journal entries each evening for the purpose of documenting the development of the course in terms of how the students were responding to the course literature, what readings should be assigned to best align student interest and the general purposes of the course, to reflect on how the instructor was responding to the student dynamics of the course, and to determine what pedagogical choices would best fit the evolution of the course. Reflective instructor journals are a widely known and used research technique in teacher education (Creswell, 2003, Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Commonly used in narrative research (Hayano, 1979; Pratt, 1994), action research (Stringer, 2007) and other diverse forms of qualitative inquiry, instructor reflective journals serve as a method of inquiry into student and teacher perceptions, beliefs, problems, attitudes, and processes of thought and development(Creswell, 2003, Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). As such, reflective instructor journals were used in this study to gain insight into both student and instructor perceptions about the course content and development.

STUDENT WRITINGS

As the purpose of the course, and the purpose of critical literacy in

general, was to have students reflect on, or attempt to situate, how the theoretical concepts of the literature presented in the course affect education, students were assigned to write a philosophy of education paper as the terminal assignment of the course. Students were given little instruction on how to write the paper other than that there was no right, or wrong, way to write the paper as it was to be a vehicle for the process of thought that leads to an informed system of educational beliefs. As such, the assignment was meant to be a personal inquiry into the purposes of education. While there are a great many treatises of what a philosophy of education is (Schönwetter, et. al., 2002; Goodyear, & Allchin, 1998), and how to write one (Chism, 1998; Kearns, & Sullivan, 2010), general agreement exists within the field of education that composing such a document is crucial to teacher development and practice. The use of student writings as data in qualitative inquiry is also common practice in educational research. Good examples of this are Lillis' (2003) use of student essays as data to understand how student's critical responses to course content denoted their development of academic literacies and Langan & Davidson's (2005) use of student writings to analyze student responses to feminist pedagogies. Similarly, this study utilized student's philosophies of education to gain insight into how students responded to the course content and how it may have changed their beliefs about education and society.

DATA ANALYSIS

The data analysis procedures employed in this study are commensurate with coding procedures found in various methodologies in qualitative research. Specifically, each data set were repeatedly and systematically read to identify patterns of similarity or contradiction and then subjected to theoretical sampling in order to connect the data to working theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The data were also triangulated as multiple

data sets were subjected to analysis. Emerging patterns within the data served as codes to be connected to theory (Creswell, 2003). Similar to grounded theory, often viewed as a neutral or 'blank slate' approach to data analysis, this analytical approach is also utilized in critical forms of research when it is acknowledged to be informed by the researcher's disciplinary knowledge and epistemological orientation (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Thus, this means of data analysis not only allowed the recognition of emerging patterns, but also allowed them to be viewed through the critical, post-structural/postmodern lens that was the foundation of this study and reflected of the purpose of the course under study.

RESULTS & DISCUSSION

Before entering into a discussion regarding the results and analysis of the data generated by this study, it is necessary to state that the TESOL MA course under study was, without doubt, the most extraordinary course the author has ever taught in his 15 years of being a graduate educator in the fields of TESOL and English education. This statement is not made as a self congratulatory 'pat on the back', or as a statement promoting the benefits or ultimate necessity of critical forms of education. Rather, it is a statement that both mirrors my experiences as a critical educator and represents a general truth that all critical educators know: that regardless of how good a teacher you are, a large percentage of the students in your classes will resist critical approaches to education to a greater or lesser extent. Simply stated, the class under study was remarkable in that 12 out of 13 students thoroughly and meaningfully engaged the ideas presented in the course literature and class discussions. In addition, these 12 students also demonstrated an awakening critical consciousness by coming to their own informed conclusions regarding how these ideas related to their own experiences as students, teachers, and agents in a larger social milieu.

However, it must also be stated that while 12 of the students did ultimately engage the ideas presented in the course, all of the students in the course exhibited some form of resistance to the course content to some extent, and did so in ways that were unique to their own experiences and beliefs. Analysis of the data revealed that within the major codes of engagement and resistance to critical approaches to education, the sub-codes of ideology and epistemology (resistance) and history, experience, and progressivity (engagement) best explained how students in the course responded to the course content.

RESISTANCE

Much of the data that revealed why some students were resistant to the ideas presented in the class came under the code heading of ideology. This code designation is problematic as the term 'ideology' may subsume a wide range of social phenomena including social class, race, religion, and political affiliation, to name a few (Gerring, 1997). Moreover, it may be shown how these seemingly disparate classifications may intersect in a variety of ways, such as how ethnicity plays a significant part in the economics of social class designations. Therefore, for the purposes of clarity and brevity, ideology will be defined as "…a set of idea elements that are bound together, that belong together in a non-random fashion" (p. 980). Thus, as a code, ideology may be seen as both an individual and/or group affiliated system of beliefs that interact in specific ways with the course content.

Of all of the students, Sara exhibited the most determined and continuing resistance to the course content, particularly as it related to issues of race and social class. As literature in critical literacy is crucially concerned with how ethnic bias is both represented, and reproduced, in the curriculum and instruction of educational systems (Kincheloe, & Steinberg, 1997;

Giroux, 2011), it is not surprising that it served as a point of resistance for some students. Specifically, the interrelated theories of white privilege (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997), double consciousness (Dubios, 1994), and hegemony (Gramsci, 1971) proved to be both enlightening and disturbing to the students. These theories may be said to be related in that they all posit a duality of power relations and consciousness in terms of the inequality of social relations between specific groups within a society, whether national or global. The theory of white privilege posits that white people in western societies are unable to see the numerous privileges granted them by the systematic power of their ethnicity and that such privileges are denied to other ethnicities, or people of color (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997). Similarly, the theory of double consciousness posits that while this blindness to the privilege of power is systematically inherent to those that possess it (they do not need to recognize it as their lives are not so negatively constrained), marginalized ethnic groups, of necessity, understand the social workings of power for both groups, hence having a double consciousness (Dubois, 1994). Gramsci's (1971) theory of hegemony ties these theories together by positing that complicity for the systematic social domination of one group over another is held by both groups. That is, a social group may not be dominated unless it gives some measure of tacit support to its own domination. In addition, by defining social domination as a systematic phenomenon, these theories deny individualistic definitions of social bias that claim innocence if an individual has not committed an overt singular act of discrimination. In other words, being a member of a society that systematically discriminates against certain social groups makes one complicit in their domination (Kincheloe & Syeinberg, 2007; Giroux, 2011). The following two excerpts from Sara's journal responding to the reading of Kincheloe & Steinberg exemplify her resistance to these ideas:

> I guess I just don't understand why the "racist/victim/oppressor" cards

> are still getting played, positioning white privilege as the culprit for oppression of others, instead of combating what is wrong in a community, and working to make things better, instead of pointing fingers at others. (July 12, 2013)
>
> It is maddening as hell to be positioned as part of a problem you did not create, and cannot change, especially when you are being made to feel bad about yourself for trying to do the best you can with your own life. (July 12, 2013)

Here, Sara's responses clearly illustrate that she feels uncomfortable with and rejects the idea that she is in any way responsible for the ethnic bias that she admits continues in America. As such, she firmly adheres to an individualistic view of racism. In doing so, she not only denies her complicity in the domination of others, but intimates a commonly held belief in 'reverse racism' that victimizes those innocent of ethnic bias (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2007). As these theories of social domination and complicity are foundational ideas that run through theories of critical literacy, Sara's individualistic views on the nature of social power define much of the impetus for her resistance to the course content.

Three other students also evinced some aspect of resistance similar to Sara's. Interestingly, the data shows that while the three other American students were clearly made uncomfortable when addressing the same issues in the literature and class discussions, their responses were more general in that they did not specifically target ethnicity as the reason for their discomfort and/or skepticism. David best exemplifies this data as he responds to both class discussions that included the issues of ethnic bias and the course reading of *Representation, globalization, and the native speaker: dialectics of language, ideology, and power* (Pederson, 2012), which included arguments on linguistic imperialism, the western domination of academia, and its ties to globalization. David relates his dilemmas through the following series of questions aimed at both himself and the instructor:

> Do other majors obsess over their own inner-evil? Do they have the same inner-evil? I sure hope/expect business majors do. If this profession is so bad, why do I (a generally not-so-bad person) want to continue with it? Am I, in fact, a not-so-good person? Or, have I just been raised in a society whereby my raging ego and ethnocentrism blinds me to that which I don't know and makes that which I know so easy for me to mindlessly follow a path and an ideology that is, essentially, detrimental on the global scale? Am I the problem? (July 16, 2013)

Here, David shows that although the theories that attempt to explicate the social workings of power through language teaching, and education in general, make him uncomfortable in terms of his contemplation of personal guilt and complicity, he nonetheless is clearly considering the validity of these issues in terms of his own personal experiences and beliefs. In this way, he demonstrates that resistance is not a monolithic phenomenon: that it is common to all forms of education, but may be overcome if the teacher and students create a pedagogical space that encourages inquiry and free thought (Giroux, 2011). In addition, instructor journals noted that the question 'Do I have to feel bad or guilty about being an English teacher?' is a common question that is to be expected when teaching critical literacy as the issue of complicity, or symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1991), is a foundational aspect of theories in critical literacy (Sung & Pederson, 2012). As such, some resistance to these ideas is to be expected as students work out their own answers among and between themselves. Instructor field notes and journals also noted that student's facial expressions (frowns) and body language (fidgeting) were accurate indicators of the intellectual struggles the students were undergoing prior to their expression in journals. Finally, as the data shows that only the white American students demonstrated this type of resistance, the findings support the general premise of critical literacy that curriculum and instruction that address such issues are more engaging to a diversity of students, and also supports the literature on resistance to critical literacy that names ideology as a primary cause

of resistance (Yagelski, 1999).

The second major impetus for student resistance revealed by the data was one of epistemological socialization. Specifically, six students evinced a strong skepticism to the post-structural/postmodern epistemological claims of the subjectivity of knowledge and truth embedded in the course literature. Such adherence to positivistic forms of knowledge and education are not surprising as it is widely known that positivism remains the dominant epistemology in secondary and tertiary education (Kuhn, 1970; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2007). The data shows that these students had trouble accepting, or seeing the relevance of, discursive views of knowledge and truth. Surprisingly, these students did not object to the notion that truth was subjective, and that hence no ultimate truth exists, but rather to the oft made claim that post-structural/postmodern views were impracticable and ultimately lead to chaos (Dawkins, 2010). Mada's journal response to this issue reflects the thoughts of the other students by stating:

> With 1000 versions of the truth there can't be any tests. Without any belief in "right" or "wrong" in education, and the associated anarchy that comes with it, what can be accomplished within a school? Without possible tests, what is expected of a graduate? What can a future employer expect? What can a future employer know of their potential new worker? (July 10, 2013)

Mada's response illustrates her socialization into positivistic views of education as she specifically responds to the issue of accountability, while not denying that different bodies of knowledge or versions of the truth exist. Data from class discussions and student journals show that six other students (David, Denise, Hua Ling, Mada, Thomas, and Wei) held this belief. Hua-ling summates this belief in her journal by stating that: "Although I can see the merit in these ideas, perhaps operating from a positivist POV is not such a bad idea" (July 23, 2013). That this educational belief proved to be an impetus for resistance to the course content is not surprising

as the socialization into specific forms of curriculum and pedagogy are well known phenomena (Bourdieu, 1991; Giroux, 2011) and are supported as a cause for resistance to critical literacy in other studies (Riley & Claris, 2009).

ENGAGEMENT

The data regarding how and why students engaged the major theories of critical literacy presented in the course primarily fell into to codes: culture and progressiveness. Analysis of the data showed that issues of national, international, and ethnic history were recurrent themes in the data that were all connected to the individual native cultures of the students. As 9 of the 13 students were from nations with a colonial past, it is not surprising that these theories of critical literacy resonated with so many students. Certainly, theories of critical literacy predict increased levels of engagement by students who come from marginalized backgrounds, whether it is an issue of historical and continuing ethnic bias or a history of colonial and neo-colonial/neo-imperial domination (Giroux, 1983; Freire & Macedo, 1987).

All 9 of the non-American students positively responded in some way to the course content that addressed the historical positioning of their native country within the international community. Specifically, theories of linguistic imperialism, post-colonialism, and hegemony greatly attracted their attentions. In terms of linguistic imperialism, the data focused on the justifications for why their countries instituted language policies mandating universal English education and who benefited from these policies. The data revealed that all of the 9 non-American students not only questioned their native language and educational policies, but also determined that universal English education was a bad policy that favored specific social groups who already held positions of power. Sadiah's Journal response to the readings regarding linguistic Imperialism (Phillipson, 1992;

Canagarajah, 1999) and post-colonial theory (Bhabha, 1994; Spivak, 1995) resonated with the responses of other students by stating that:

> It has always seemed to me that most people almost never use their English after they are out of school. Then why is it so important for everyone to learn English? We can say that some people need to learn English for science and trade, but how many really do that after graduating? No, most people are just ordinary people with ordinary jobs and English does not much for them. But some people make much money from the English business, and not only Pakistani's, and the rich all speak good English and just get richer. It does not really help the regular people, I think. (July 19, 2013)

In this excerpt Sadiah not only questions the purposes for learning English, but also connects her own experiences with English education and the larger issue of who really benefits from her nation's language policies. As such, she also invokes the theory of hegemony as she intimates that these policies mainly benefit specific groups of people, who are thereby complicitous in the domination of their own people, as well as suggesting that this domination also comes from the outside. Sadiah's passion and concern illustrate that she is deeply engaged in thinking about the ideas she is being exposed to and how they apply to her own context.

Burhan extends this argument during a class discussion by taking a post-colonial stance that argues that it is not only the language, but the culture that comes with English education that dominates the people.

> English came with the colonial system. That, and its institutions. Some of that is good, some not so good. Now, I am concerned with the globalization and pop-culture that comes with language. Sure, many are concerned about this, that people will become like little American's, but what they do not say is how our economic system becomes like them. The gap between the rich and the poor gets bigger all the time, just like all western countries. (July 22, 2013)

Burhan demonstrates his engagement in the course literature by invoking post-colonial theory in the classroom discussions by pointing out that it is not enough to recognize the historical and current machinations of foreign domination, that one must also understand how foreign culture becomes embedded in the institutions and social practices of a nation. Moreover, his statement follows post-colonial theory in that he does not say that all aspects of foreign culture are negative, but that the workings of culture need to be examined in terms of how they actually function within a society (Bhabha, 1994; Spivak, 1995). The data not only showed that Burhan's feelings about the post-colonial influences of foreign culture were shared by the other non-American students, but also that all of these students were engaging in the course content and class discussions as predicted by theories in critical Literacy (Giroux, 1983). In addition, although the data showed that the non-American students were more passionate in their responses to these codes, the American students also actively participated in the classroom discussions that followed these issues.

With the upsurge of critical approaches to TESOL recently published in the professional literature, such as literature dealing with the issues of linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 1992; Canagarajah, 1999) identity (McNamara, 1997; Norton, 2006; Pederson, 2010), gender (Orr, 1993; McKinney, 2005), and race (Kubota & Lin, 2006; Motha, 2006), it is not surprising that all of the students, to a greater or lesser extent, engaged the course content as a progressive perspective on the field of study. The two recent special issues in the *TESOL Quarterly* (1999, 33:3; 2006, 40:3), which focused on critical approaches in TESOL, are a good example of this increasing status within the field. Thus, the increasing status of critical approaches in the field of TESOL led to student interest and engagement in these issues. As such, much of the data that demonstrated high levels of student engagement came under the code heading of progressiveness.

Much of the data that fell under the code heading of progressiveness came from the philosophies of education that students wrote as the terminal

project of the course. Although some students expressed in class discussions that much of their interest in critical literacy came from its perception of being the ‘cutting edge’ of theory within the field of study, they most clearly articulated their perspectives in their terminal papers. The majority of students in the class (3 Americans and 5 non-Americans) exhibited some measure of this code in their papers. Janice’s and Claire’s papers most clearly exemplified student writings regarding this issue in the following manner:

> Janice: I believe that critical approaches to TESOL need to gain wider credence and use in the field. Although I have yet to be convinced that all of these theories have merit, or are truly practicable in the classroom, I believe that their focus on what the students need as individuals, and what their societies need, are issues that need to be addressed. It is also obvious that these critical ideas are an increasing trend in the field such that any professional in the field needs to be conversant with them. (p.3)

> Claire: It is about time educators finally begin thinking about what students and their society really might need. So little of what is taught in school or university has anything to do with the people. It makes me feel good that such ideas are gaining prominence in the field and are now necessary to learn. (p.4)

Both Janice and Claire clearly recognized that critical literacy has become an integral part of TESOL and that such knowledge is firmly a part of what it means to be a professional in the field. Claire’s excerpt also implies that the negative aspects of English education in her nation (Ghana) have not been addressed and could possibly be ameliorated by approaches from critical literacy. While all students questioned the validity and/or practical usability of some of the specific theories presented in the course, as Janice excerpt relates, all of the students in the course appeared to embrace most

of the theories to a greater or lesser extent. The data also showed that Janice's concern regarding the application of ideas from critical literacy to the classroom was shared by many students. However, as the application of critical literacy to any classroom is, by definition, anti-method (Giroux, 2011) or post-method (Kumaravadivelu, 2001), or more specifically the creative application of theory to practice (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2007), students seemed to understand that it was up to them to decide how these ideas might be applied. Such feelings regarding the difficulty in applying ideas from critical literacy to the classroom are well known and are understood as part of the process of developing a critical teaching practice through reflective teaching (Sung & Pederson, 2012).

Finally, in order to get a better understanding of the nature of the course under study, it is necessary to relate three incidents that fell outside of the analytical codes and occurred both in and outside of the classroom. Data from instructor field notes and journals related that class discussions grew more lively and interactive as the course progressed. As many of the theories presented in the course literature are difficult and have great depth in terms of potential meanings and applications, it is common for students to have some sense of confusion until they begin to connect the ideas to their own experiences. This period of confusion, or intellectual overload, was clearly demonstrated by the students in this course. Two students (Thomas and Haddad) related that their heads felt like they were about to 'explode' with all of the ideas floating around in them. Yet, most students did ultimately make these connections. Haddad typified this aspect of student response when he approached me outside of the building during the break and said:

> I was very confused for the first few classes. I must admit that I did not know what to make of these things and did not know why you were talking about them. I have never heard of such things before. But, finally I began to understand. You have opened my eyes, and

> I can't wait to go home and tell others about them. I think they are greatly needed. (July 16, 2013)

Naturally, I refused credit for this endorsement and told him that these ideas came from a great many scholars. Nonetheless, this conversation did show that students were genuinely engaging the ideas and thinking about how they applied to their own contexts. The second incident again occurred during a break where I noticed a group of four students (Azad, Burhan, Janice, and Wei) engaged in conversation in the hallway. I approached them and discovered that they were engaged in a discussion about the post-colonial nature of hegemony and complicity within their own nations. This incident is notable as it is unusual to see students so avidly continue their discussion during a break. The third incident occurred during a class discussion where Sara was voicing her resistance to theories of white privilege and systematic racism. What was significant about this incident was that I, as the instructor, did not have to interject on why her perspective was limited and what that limitation meant. Instead, Claire and Sadiah responded to Sara in supportive tones why her perspective didn't work and why she didn't recognize her own white privilege. This incident best exemplifies the nature of the class in terms of how the students engaged the content of the course and how it gave them confidence in themselves and encouraged a sense of voice. All three of these incidents seem to confirm theories of engagement and resistance in critical literacy as these theories predict that pedagogies that are derived from these ideas not only resonate more with students, as they better connect with student lives and experiences, but also empower students with an increased sense of voice and social agency as well (Freire & Macedo, 1987; Kincheloe, & Steinberg 2000; Giroux, 2011).

CONCLUSION

The findings of this study indicate that although TESOL MA students show resistance to some aspects of critical literacy, they tend to engage the ideas in the literature and class discussions, to a greater or lesser extent, according to the discursive construction of their identities and social positioning (who they are). While all students displayed resistance to some theories in critical literacy, only one student exhibited firm resistance to one aspect of critical literacy theory (ethnic bias) that could not be overcome. The data illustrated that although all students showed some resistance to individually specific theories, they nonetheless were actively considering their merit and possible pedagogical applications. The results of this study also appear to validate other research findings on engagement and resistance to critical literacy in terms of resistance to ideological and ethnic theories that conflict with the discursive construction of their identities and engage students from historically and/or ethnically marginalized social groups (Giroux, 1983; Freire & Macedo, 1987). In addition, the findings of this study found that many students engaged theories of critical literacy for the purpose of keeping up with the 'cutting edge' ideas emerging in the field of TESOL and equating the increasing status of critical literacy in TESOL literature to the notion of professionalism. Finally, although all students engaged the majority of theories presented in the course, the data supports the theoretical predictions and research on engagement and resistance in critical literacy in that the non-American students, or students from nations that historically fell under colonial rule and were, thus, marginalized, engaged at higher levels than the non-American students. In other words, as one of the primary purposes of critical literacy is to address issues of social inequality embedded in education (Shor, 1999; Giroux 2011), it is not surprising that the non-American students engaged the course content at higher levels.

Lastly, it needs to be stated that the findings of this study are not easily

generalizable to other similar courses. The levels of student engagement demonstrated through the intellectual acuteness of student writings and the thoughtful and lively nature of class discussions are unique within my 15 years of teaching critical literacy to graduate students in TESOL and English education. I do not attribute the unique nature of this class to my own expertise in critical literacy or my teaching approach, but rather to the unique student composition of the class as I have never had a student group that was so diverse in terms of ethnicity and nationality. Nonetheless, the results of this study do show that TESOL MA students are generally open to theories of critical literacy regardless of their ethnicity or nationality and that they find these ideas to be of value to their field of study and themselves as teachers, individuals, and members of a larger society.

❖ REFERENCES

Barton, D., Hamilton, M., & Ivanic, R. (Eds.) (2000). *Situated literacies: Reading and writing in context.* New York: Routledge.
Bhabha, H. (1994). *The location of culture.* New York: Routledge.
Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and symbolic power*. Cambridge, MA. Harvard University Press.
Canagarajah, S. (1999). *Resisting linguistic imperialism in English teaching*. London: Oxford University Press.
Case, K. & Hemmings, A. (2005). Distancing strategies: White women preservice teachers and antiracist curriculum. *Urban Education 40(6),* 606-626.
Chism, N. (1998). Developing a philosophy of teaching statement. In K. Gillespie (Ed.) *Essays on Teaching Excellence: Toward the Best in the Academy*. POD Network: A Publication of the Professional and Organizational Development Network.
Creswell, J. (2003). *Research design: quaolitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches.* Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
Dawkins, R. (2010). *The greatest show on earth: The evidence for evolution.* New York: Free Press.
Denzin, N. & Lincoln, Y. (2011). Introduction to the design and practice of qualitative research. In, N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln, (Eds.) *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE. pp.1-20.
Du Bois, W. (1994). *The Souls of Black Folk*. New York: Gramercy Books.
Fobes, C. & Kaufman, P. (2008). Critical pedagogy in the sociology classroom: Challenges and concerns. *Teaching Sociology, 36,* 26-33.
Foucault, M. (1984). *The Foucault reader*. New York: Random House.
Freire, P. & Macedo, D. (1987). *Literacy, reading the word and the world.* New York: Praeger.
Gerring, J. (1997). Ideology: A definitional analysis. *Political Research Quarterly, 50(4),* 957-995.
Giroux, H. (1983). *Theory and resistance in education: a pedagogy for the opposition*. New York: Bergin and Garvey.
__________. (2003). Public pedagogy and the politics of resistance: Notes on a critical theory of educational struggle. *Educational Philosophy and Theory, 35(1),* 5-16.
__________. (2005). *Border crossings: cultural workers and the politics of education.* New York: Routledge.
__________. (2011). *On critical pedagogy.* New York: Bloomsbury Academic.
Goodyear, G. & Allchin, D. (1998). Statements of teaching philosophy. *To Improve*

the Academy: Resources for Faculty, Instructional, and Organizational Development, vol. 17. (M. Kaplan, ed.) Stillwater, OK: New Forums Press. 103-21.

Gramsci, Antonio (1971). *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. New York: International Publishers.

Hall, S. (1997). *Representation: cultural representations and signifying practices*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Hayano, D. (1979). Auto-ethnography: Paradigms, problems, and prospects. *Human Organization*, 38, 113-120.

Johnson, K. (2006). The sociocultural turn and its challenges for second language teacher education. *TESOL Quarterly*, 40(1), 235-257.

Kearns, K., & Sullivan, C.S. (2010). Resources and practices to help graduate students and postdoctoral fellows write statements of teaching philosophy. *Advances in Physiology Education, 35*, 136-145.

Kincheloe, J., & Steinberg, S, (1997). *Changing multiculturalism: new times, new curriculum.* London: Open University Press.

__________. (1997). Addressing the crisis of whiteness: reconguring white identity in a pedagogy of whiteness, In: J. Kincheloe, et. al., (Eds.) *White Reign*. (New York, St Martin's Griffin, pp. 3 – 29.

Kubota, R. & Lin, A. (2006). Race and TESOL: Introduction to concepts and theories. *TESOL Quarterly, 40(3),* 471-494.

Kumaravadivelu, B. (2001). Toward a postmethod pedagogy. *TESOL Quarterly, 35(4),* 537-560.

Kuhn, T. (1970). *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Langan, D. & Davidson, D. (2005). Critical pedagogy and personal struggles: Feminist scholarship outside women's studies. *Feminist Teacher* 15(2), 132-158.

Lave, J. & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated learning: legitimate peripheral participation.* Boston: Cambridge University Press.

Lillis, T. (2003). Student writing as 'academic literacies' drawing on Bahktin to move from critiques to design. *Langauge and Education. 17(3),* 192-207.

Lynn, M. (1999). Toward a critical race pedagogy: a research note, *Urban Education*, *33(5),* 606-626.

Macedo, D., et. al. (2003). *The hegemony of English.* Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers.

McInerney, P. (2009). Toward a critical pedagogy of engagement for alienated youth: Insights from Freire and school-based research. *Critical Studies in Education, 50(1),* 23-35.

McKinney, C. (2005). A balancing act: Ethical dilemmas of democratic teaching within critical pedagogy. *Educational Action Research, 13(3),*375-392.

McLaren, P. (2006). *Life in schools: An introduction to critical pedagogy in the foundations of education.* New York: Pearson.

McNamara, T. (1997). Theorizing social identity: What do we mean by social identity? Competing frameworks. *TESOL Quarterly, 31*(3), 561-567.

Motha, S. (2006). ESOL teacher identities in U.S. K-12 public schools. *TESOL Quarterly, 40(3).* 495-518.

Norton, B. (1997). Language, identity, and the ownership of English. *TESOL Quarterly, 31*(3), 409 – 429.

________. (2006). Identity as a sociocultural construct in second language education. In K. Cadman & K. O'Regan (Eds.) *Tales out of school: Special issue of TESOL in Context*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Orr, D. (1993). Toward a critical rethinking of feminist pedagogical praxis and resistant male students. *Canadian Journal of Education, 18(3),* 239-254.

Pederson, R. (2012). Situated Learning: Rethinking a Ubiquitous Theory. *The Journal of Asia TEFL*. 9(2), 123-148.

_________. (2010). Conscientization and the discursive construction of identity across cultures: Using literacy autobiography as a reflective and analytical tool. *Cross-Cultural Studies, 20 (1)*, 149-182.

Peim, N. (2003). *Changing English? Rethinking the politics of English teaching.* New York: NATE.

Pennycook, A. (1999). Introduction: Critical approaches to TESOL. *TESOL Quarterly, 33(3),* 329-348.

Phillipson, R. (1992). *Linguistic imperialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Pratt, M. (1994). Transculturation and autoethnography: Peru 1615/1980. In F. Barker, P. Holme, & M. Iverson (Eds.), *Colonial discourse/postcolonial theory* (pp. 24-46). Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Riley, D. & Claris, L. (2009). From persistence to resistance: Pedagogies of liberation for inclusive science and engineering. *International Journal of Gender, Science and Technology, 1(1),* 36-60.

Schönwetter, D., et. al. (2002). Teaching philosophies reconsidered: A conceptual model for the development and evaluation of teaching philosophy statements. *International Journal of Academic Development, 7,* 83-97.

Seas, K. (2006). Enthymematic rhetoric and student Resistance to critical pedagogies. *Rhetoric Review, 25(4),* 427-443.

Shin, H. & Crookes, G. (2005). Exploring the possibilities for EFL critical pedagogy in Korea-a two-part case study. *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies, 2(2),* 113-138.

Shor, I. (1999). What is critical literacy. *Journal of Critical Pedagogy, 1(4),* 1-27.

Spivak, G. (1995). *The Spivak reader: selected works of Gayati Chakravorty Spivak.* New York: Routledge.

Spradly, J. (1980). *Participant observation.* New York: Rinehart and Winston.

Strauss, A., & Corbin, J., (1998). *Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures and technique.* Newbury Park, London: Sage.

Stringer, E. (2007). *Action research in education.* New York: Pearson.

Sung, K. & Pederson, R. (2012). Critical practices in ELT as a project of possibilities or a banal discourse. In, K. Sung & R. Pederson, (Eds.). Critical ELT practices in Asia. Boston: Sense. Pp. 153-169.

Yagelski, R. (1999). The ambivalence of reflection: Critical pedagogies, identity, and the writing teacher. *National Council of Teachers of English CCC, 51(1),* 32-50.

Copula Contraction and Deletion among African American Vernacular English* (AAVE) Speakers

Willie U. Willie
(Lecturer and Researcher, Department of Linguistics and Nigerian Languages, University of Uyo)

▌ABSTRACT ▌

This is a cross-sectional study designed to analyze the correlation between the structural and social variables and the pattern of contraction and deletion of the copula verb in the speech of African American Vernacular English (AAVE) speakers in Athens in Georgia, USA using a questionnaire. The results show that the frequency of copula contraction is higher than that of deletion in all factor groups including the age of the speakers where this study found that younger speakers tend to have higher frequency of contraction and deletion of the copula than older speakers. This study analyzes this as a function of the fact that younger speakers of AAVE are conscious of the linguistic and social differences between AAVE speakers and speakers of Standard American English (SAE) and they consciously make

* This paper grew out of a stimulating discussion and guided class work from LING 6860: Sociolinguistic Research in the spring semester of 2010 tutored by Prof Chad L. Howe of the Department of Romance Languages, University of Georgia, Athens. My deepest appreciation goes to Prof C. L. Howe for his intellectual guidance and for encouraging me to strive for excellence at all times. Others of my colleagues in the same class deserve my appreciation too. They include Nathan Loggins, Heather Wills, Ken Knight, Heather Mellow, Stephen Looney, Jackie Young. I deeply appreciate you all for your friendship and encouragement.

choices regarding which norm to use at which contexts to satisfy their communicative and socio-cultural needs. This sort of conscious social behavior is not likely to disappear with age rather it might increase as a correlate of the perceived physical, socio-cultural and psychological distance between AAVE speakers and speakers of other varieties. This study shows that such perceived linguistic, socio-cultural and psychological distance has negative effects on pedagogy and I proffer the remedy.

Key Words
copula contraction, copula deletion, African American Vernacular English (AAVE), Standard American English (SAE), cross-sectional, social variables, morphosyntax.

1. Introduction

African American Vernacular English (AAVE) has been the subject of studies by both linguists, sociolinguists and social variationists for a long time now and all scholars in the mentioned disciplines have consented to the fact that the need for sociocultural identity has necessitated the emergence, consolidation and stability of a viable speech community based on this variety of English (Cukor-Avila 2001). This study examines copula deletion and contraction (one aspect of the morphosyntax of this variety of English) in relation to some social and structural variables that might shape or affect its usage in actual speech situation. But before I do that, let me define AAVE in the context of other co-existing varieties of English spoken in the United States. A survey conducted by Mufwene (2001) on the question of what AAVE is elicited a wide range of possible responses from participants. But three of the factors that participants considered in their responses to the survey question included race, structural differences and intelligibility. For instance, one of the participants describes AAVE as “a type of English not easy to understand. It is spoken mostly by people of Black skin or/and by other people living in areas where black people

live". Two of the three factors named above stand out in the description, namely, race and degree of intelligibility to speakers of other varieties of English. Yet another participant in the survey describes AAVE as "a dialect of English mutually intelligible with standard and other Englishes but with different ways of structuring sentences and some different vocabulary". Two factors also stand out in the description: degree of intelligibility with other English varieties and structural differences.

Other factors such as socioeconomic status associated with the speakers of AAVE and some socio-historical biases associated with the speakers of this variety were identified in the description rendered by many participants in that survey. However, as linguists, our orientation and training should help us to view things about language, dialect, accent, idiolect and similar phenomena in a more objective manner. This, perhaps, is why Mufwene (2001: 37) describes AAVE as "English as it is spoken by or among African Americans". This characterization is adopted as our working definition of AAVE because it is objective and free from the burden of the tendency to stigmatize the variety as well as its speakers. For one, it is not charged with any socio-economic nuances or socio-historical divide among the speakers of AAVE and speakers of other varieties. Also, it avoids the structural criterion thereby dodging the pitfall of overstressing the structural differences between AAVE and other varieties thereby exonerating itself from issues relating to degree of intelligibility and race. Mufwene (2001) justifies this definition by stating that this characterization, though vague, "enables us to discuss peculiarities of verbal communication among African Americans even if all we find in a discourse are instances of rhetorical strategies without structural features or just prosodic features without anything else".

2. Structural Relationship between AAVE and Other Varieties:

Many studies have been carried out on the grammatical system of AAVE in an attempt to describe the fundamental differences and similarities between AAVE and Standard American English (SAE). Many of these studies were based on the analyses of adolescents' speech in Northern urban areas (Labov et al. 1968, Wolfram 1969, Fasold 1972 all cited in Cukor-Avila 2001: 94). These studies concentrated on the description of grammatical features such as tense marking and the use of present tense *"be"*. Also, according to Cukor-Avila (2001: 94), the grammatical features most studied include:

1. (a). the absence of present tense third person singular *-s* as in:
   She work in the city
   (b). the absence of third person singular copula as in:
   He ø in the house watchin' TV
   (c). the absence of plural and second person plural copula:
   They ø gonna be here soon
   (d). the use of invariant *be* for habitual action as in:
   They be out in the yard every night
   We be talkin' on the phone a lot.
   (Cukor-Avila 2001:94)

Therefore, these features formed the core of investigation into the relationship of Southern AAVE to the South White Vernacular English (SWVE). For example, Wolfram (1971, 1974) suggested qualitative similarity in the distribution of singular and plural copula absence for both African American and the White children living in rural Mississippi and observes that since only the AAVE speaking children in his study use habitual *be*, he concludes that the distributive *be* is typically not found in the Southern White speech, though it is an integral aspect of AAVE

(Wolfram 1974:524 cited in Cukor-Avila 2001: 94). Dunlap (1974) and Sommer (1986) come to a similar conclusion based on their data elicited in Atlanta from African American and White fifth graders of comparable social classes.

While these studies made substantial contribution to the understanding of the distribution of copula forms in younger speakers, enough data was not provided to enable us observe the evolution of the black-white speech relationship (Cukor-Avila 2001:95). A Study by Bailey and Bassett (1986) was designed to address this gap in the research through an examination of the present tense *be* forms in adult speech. The work by Bailey and Bassett (1986) shows a similar distribution of habitual *be* in the speech of rural African American and White adults. The former worked on the data collected in Mississippi and Louisiana for the Linguistic Atlas of the Gulf States and the latter collected data from rural African Americans and Whites over 65 years old from Texas and Mississippi. Also, these speakers show similar patterns for singular and plural copula absence and the use of *is* for *are*. These works provide useful information about the distribution of the invariant *be* and copula absence in SWVE and AAVE but left the question of the presence and distribution of other AAVE features in the South untouched.

This is where work by Cukor-Avila (2001) fills the gap. That work was a longitudinal study of the informants based in rural Texas community of Springville during eleven years of fieldwork in that community. This enabled the researcher an opportunity to record many informants numerous times and in different contexts. The result of the analyses of the data from Springville suggests that different socio-historical contexts correlate with linguistic differences between AAVE and SWVE. That is, during the pre-world war II period, for example, there was significant social contact between African Americans and the Whites and so there were many shared linguistic features. However, the post-world war II period witnessed a significant reduction in social contact between these two groups and

consequently, a reduction in the linguistic similarities. For example, in the tabulation of the features in relation to socio-historical period as deduced from the age of the informants and in relation to relative stability of the features, Cukor-Avila (2001:106) shows that the copula absence (our main focus in this study) is one of the AAVE features that was shared by SWVE but which has disappeared from the latter overtime (Labov 1969, Feagin 1979 and Rickford et al. 1991 etc.). Such copula absence is exemplified as in (2).

2. (a). Bobby ø not workin' this summer (Bobby is not working this summer) and
   (b). You ø taller than Sheila (You are taller than Sheila) (Cukor-Avila 2001:104)

Also, the AAVE features that have been stable in both AAVE and SWVE (still shared) include *y'all* and *fixinto/fitna* as in example (3).

3. (a). Y'all don't make no sense (You (pl) don't make any sense) and
   (b). We're fixin'to go to the store (We are planning to go to the store) (Cukor-Avila 2001:103).

Other features of AAVE are shown to be innovative developing more recently only in AAVE and never shared with SWVE or any other varieties. The innovative *had + past* (what I prefer to call partial regularization) is a case in point as in example (4).

4. Today I had went to work (Today I had gone to work) (Cukor-Avila 1995; Rickford and Rafal 1996).

The reasons of these innovations (that is the development of new features) within AAVE and the reasons for the stunning similarities among speakers of AAVE from all parts of the United States have been studied by Wolfram (2004) who traces the emergence of urban AAVE as a by-product of the

great migration in which African Americans moved from the rural South to the metropolitan North in the early and mid-twentieth century. Though AAVE was carried to the North by the African Americans, there was no accommodation to the local Northern linguistic norms due to large scale social, racial and ethnic segregation of the African Americans who moved to the urban North. This led to more divergence in their speech and some innovation in style in an attempt to cultivate and perpetuate African American socio-cultural identity. This was studied by scholars like Labov 1987 Bailey and Maynor (1989); Poplack (2000); Poplack and Tagliamante (2001) as an instance of language change under the "Divergence Hypothesis". Divergence hypothesis maintains that AAVE is evolving independently in ways that increase the differences between AAVE and other vernacular dialects of English. But, many scholars agree that the locus of independent innovation within the AAVE is largely urban and that change within the variety is diffusing from urban to rural areas. This diffusion is, sort of, dissipating the featural distinction between the urban and the rural norms of AAVE (Wolfram and Thomas 2002). The paper concludes that "large metropolitan areas appear to be the current socio-cultural centers for innovation and the establishment of supra-regional norms in AAVE with change diffusing from these urban locations into more rural regions".

3. The Copula Absence

Of all the features of AAVE studied in the past four decades, copula absence or deletion and contraction is one of the canonical features of this variety that has been very stable and has constituted one of the major distinctive features of AAVE that is shared by all AAVE speakers in the United States. For example, Wolfram (2004:127-130) presents a tabulation of features of AAVE according to whether the features are

"new and intensifying structures" (that is innovative features), "receding urban AAVE features" or "stable urban AAVE features". This tabulation lists copula absence on top of the list of stable features along with completive *done* and negative concord (double negation). The question may now be; why is it important to study the AAVE copula absence in American sociolinguistics? Rickford (1999:61) answers this question when he states that "copula absence sets AAVE apart from all other American dialects especially with respect to *is* absence. European American vernacular varieties as far apart as Mississippi, New York and Palo Alto, California show some *are* absence but little or no *is* absence; by contrast, *is* absence for African American vernacular speakers in the same areas run to 80 percent or more" (Labov 1969 ; McElhinny 1993; Wolfram 1974 all cited in Wolfram 2004).

Another reason why it is important to study the copula absence is that scholars who are interested in the historical evolution of AAVE have often turned to the study of copula absence which has played a crucial role in determining whether AAVE derives from an earlier plantation creoles as AAVE resembles some Caribbean creoles in its pattern of copula absence especially as affected by following grammatical categories (see Alleyne 1980; Bailey 1965; Baugh 1979, 1980; Bickerton 1973; Poplack and Sankoff 1987; Rickford and Blake 1990; Stewart 1970b, Winford 1988).

4. Which Forms Constitute the Copula Deletion and or Contraction?

There have been some controversies among researchers as to whether the contraction and deletion of *is* should be treated the same with the contraction and deletion of *are*. That is, should the tabulation for calculation of the frequency of occurrence of the copula include *is* only as a variable, or should it include *is* and *are* as separate variables or should it include

is and *are* together as one variable. This controversy produces the paradigm on table1 adopted from Rickford (1999:63):

Table 1 Previous contraction/deletion tabulation of is and are

	is	are	is + are
Labov et al. (1968), Labov (1969)	+		
Wolfram (1974)	+	+	
Wolfram (1969), Poplack and Sankoff (1987)			+

As table 1 shows, the earliest position on the matter was presented by Labov et al. and has *is* as the only variable. The argument was that the deletion of the second person plural *are* could be handled by "a general r-vocalization or desulcalization rule" (Rickford 1999:62). The next position is presented by Wolfram (1974) who argues that the deletion of the second person plural *are* should not be handled by the so-called general desucalization rule because "desulcalization in *'po'* and similar forms, for example, was strongly favored by a following consonant whereas the deletion of copulative *are* was not" (Rickford 1999:63) and so the two should be treated separately. However, Wolfram (1969); Poplack and Sankoff (1987) and Rickford (1999) argue for treating the contraction and deletion of *is* and *are* together as a single variable; the position adopted in this work. The argument in support of this position is based strictly on the structural and featural consideration and on the ease of calculation of the frequency of the variable. The structural constraints refer to the observed effects of environment on the contraction and deletion of the copula. That is, the grammatical environments that the contraction and deletion of *is* can occur is similar to those that the contraction and deletion of *are* can occur. Also, this unified treatment would allow us to present two tabulations instead of four to analyze the copula contraction in accordance with Occam's razor.

The environmental constraints identified by many scholars as affecting

the copula behavior in a sentence include Following Grammatical Environment (FGE) (including gonna, verb + ing, locatives, adjectives, noun phrases and so on). The next group of constraints includes Subject Constraints (SC) (including personal pronouns, other pronouns and noun phrases). Yet another group of constraints include Following Phonological Environment (FPE) (including following consonants and following vowels). Also, another group of constraints include Preceding Phonological Environment (PPE) (including preceding consonants and preceding vowels). Another very important but external factor that have been considered by scholars is the age group of the AAVE speakers (including younger and older) Cukor-Avila (2001), Rickford (1999).

Considering these constraints in relation to the issue of whether the contraction and deletion of *is* and *are* show enough similarity in pattern to be considered as the same variable, Rickford (1999:68) presents the results of the study of spontaneous speech collected from interview and peer group sessions with approximately 30 AAVE speakers from East Palo Alto in California. The general picture of the result is that on the contraction tokens, although *are* contraction is more likely (90%) than *is* contraction (68%), the constraints on the contraction of the two forms are virtually identical. For example, in the Following Grammatical Environment factor group, contraction strongly favors *gonna* and strongly disfavors noun phrases in both *is* and *are* runs. What this means is that generally when *is* or *are* are followed by the form *gonna* in a sentence, they are more likely to be deleted or contracted than when they are followed by a noun phrase. Similarly, the external factor namely age group also presents a clear pattern of contraction for the copula with younger people favoring contraction (67% for *is* and 74 % for *are*) than older people (41% for *is* and 41 % for *are*). This presents similarity of pattern.

On the deletion side, though the similarity is not as striking as in contraction, the results is still comparable especially with respect to Following Grammatical Environment (where *gonna* strongly favors copula

deletion (81% for *is* and 76 % for *are*), but noun phrase strongly disfavors deletion with (30% for is and 30% for are). The correlation between the age of the speakers and copula deletion is also apparent where younger people again strongly favor copula deletion (87% for *is* and 79% for *are*), but older people disfavor copula deletion (with 25% for *is* and 21 % for *are*). Also, this shows similarity of pattern. Support for this similarity of pattern can drawn from Labov's contraction data from New York City Jets. Labov (1969:731-746 cited in Rickford 1999: 70) found that contraction was most favored by a preceding vowel, by a pronoun subject, and by a following *gonna*. Furthermore, Labov (1972c:84) reports that members of the Cobras street gang in New York City, like most other AAVE speakers deleted *is* more often when it had a pronominal subject (e.g. He) than when it had a noun phrase (e.g. the man), and more often when recorded with their peer group than when interviewed individually (Rickford 1999:10). This difference in frequency between when a gang member is interviewed with peers and when a gang member is interviewed individually introduces another dimension of variation of the copula.

Apart from age, scholars have shown that other social factors like style, social class, gender and peer pressure have linguistic correlates in the copula contraction and deletion, and in this study, the hypothesis is that copula contraction and deletion among AAVE speakers in Georgia would pattern along the same lines described in the works discussed above especially in relation to environmental constraints and the age of the speakers.

5. Methodology: Data Collection

All the quantitative analyses of sociolinguistic phenomena in the literature that we have referred to in this work are based on the analyses of data collected through interviews, peer sessions and analyses of corpus data of speech of AAVE speakers. And as it is well known, different data

collection procedures may have differential effects on the outcome of any study. In this study, I decided to go on a survey using a questionnaire. The questionnaire method was chosen for two main reasons. The first reason is that the questionnaire method is amenable to the need to collect a relatively large size of data that are easy to analyze in a relatively short period of time. The second reason, and perhaps the more important one, is to observe the effects of social correlates of the difference in medium (that is written form as opposed to verbal form) and method of data collection on the linguistic behavior of AAVE speakers. Also, I decided to personally conduct the survey by myself in an assumption that interpersonal relationship and the degree of perceived in-group affiliation or lack of such affiliation might influence the results in interesting ways. This is because I speak the English language with an accent and this might affect the response that I might elicit from respondents as a result of the perceived lack of in-group affiliation. This assumption is informed by a result of a study conducted by Rickford and McNair-Knox (1994: 247) in East Palto Alta on an African American teenage girl named Foxy. Foxy was observed to delete *is* and *are* 70 percent of the time in one interview with an African American man with whom she was familiar, but did so only 40 percent of the time in another interview with a European American whom she had not met before. In the same way, since all the subjects in my survey were total strangers; coupled with my accent, the assumption seems to be genuine and we will let the data speak for itself.

The questionnaire was divided into five sections. Section A consisted of general instructions and nine questions to elicit demographic information about the respondents. Sections B to E were the main sections arranged according to the environmental constraint groups. Section B contains 10 questions based on Following Grammatical Environment group of constraints (gonna, verb + ing, locatives, adjectives, noun phrases). Section C contains 6 questions based on Subject factor group of constraints (personal pronouns, other pronouns, noun phrases). Section D contains 4 questions

based on Following Phonological Environment group of constraints (_____consonant , ___vowel). Section E contains 4 questions based on Preceding Phonological Environment (consonant____, vowel____).

The questionnaire was administered to respondents along Broad Street and adjourning streets and at bus stops all in down town Athens and a few of the questionnaires were administered in the UGA main library to AAVE speakers who either work there or visit the library from the neighborhood to access internet at the public access section of the library. Generally, I would approach a respondent and after greetings and other shared pleasantries, ask a few initial questions to ascertain credibility to participate and then ask for consent and permission to administer the questionnaire. If accepted, the questionnaire was then administered. The respondents were asked to choose the most natural from a set of three sentences. The instruction to the respondent was as follows; *please check the most natural from each set, the one that reflects the way you would say it at home with your children, parents, siblings, etc.* Sample sentence set presented to the respondent is as follows:

5. (a). John gonna be home tonight
   (b). John's gonna be home tonight
   (c). John is gonna be home tonight

6. (a). She working in the city
   (b). She's working in the city
   (c). She is working in the city

6. Participants: Criteria for Selection

This study is focused on the analysis of copula absence; deletion and contraction in the speech of AAVE speakers in Georgia. The research population consists of people who are either born in Georgia or have

lived in Georgia for the past twenty years without any long term stay in any other part of the country in the past twenty years. In addition to this, the respondent must be born in the United States. In all, about 40 participants were surveyed for this study. I tried to sample approximately equal number of males and females and I also made effort to sample equal number of younger people (age 15-30) and older people (age 31 and above). Social class was not considered in this survey.

7. Results

The results of this study are presented and summarized in tables (2) and (3) below. Table (2) presents the survey results on copula contraction while table (3) presents the results of deletion of the copula in AAVE as it is spoken in Georgia.

Table 2: Contraction of *is* and *are* in AAVE in Georgia

Factor group	Constraint	Percentage	Token
Following grammatical environment	gonna	74%	31
	locative	68%	70
	verb + ing	67%	70
	NP	64%	29
	adjective	33%	25
Subject	personal pronoun	70%	165
	other pronoun	69%	36
	noun phrase	53%	86
Following Phonological environment	___consonant	58%	265
	___vowel	64%	89
Preceding Phonological environment	consonant____	54%	110
	vowel_______	63%	111

Factor group	Constraint	Percentage	Token
Age	younger speakers		
	(15-30)	66%	306
	older speakers		
	(31 and above)	28%	43
Total			1578
Overall frequency		61%	

Table 3: Deletion of *is* and *are* in AAVE in Georgia

Factor group	Constraint	Percentage	Token
Following grammatical	gonna	32%	15
environment	adjective	19%	6
	verb + ing	17%	37
	locative	16%	14
	NP	14%	5
Subject	personal pronoun	19%	41
	other pronoun	18%	8
	noun phrase	21%	23
Following Phonological	___consonant	18%	62
environment	___vowel	19%	21
Preceding Phonological	consonant____	24%	35
environment	vowel_______	15%	21
Age	younger speakers		
	(15-30)	20%	81
	older speakers		
	(31 and above)	8%	4
Total			373
Overall frequency		19%	

8. Discussion

In both tables 2 and 3 the first two columns present information about the independent variables namely the structural and social factors while the last two columns present information about the dependent variables namely the pattern of copula contraction and deletion. The first column shows the factor groups and the second column contains the particular constraints that shape the pattern of copula contraction and deletion in the data corpus collected in this study. The fourth column presents the token count of the copula contraction (table 2) and copula deletion (table 3) while the third column presents the percentage rates of occurrence of copula contraction and deletion in particular factor groups and particular constraints. The number on the penultimate row on each table is the total token count of copula contraction (table 2) and copula deletion (table 3) while the number on the last row (61% on table 2 and 19% on table 3) represents the mean collapsed of the percentages of occurrence of the dependent variables in all factor groups and all constraints.

The general picture that emerges from both tables is that contraction has much higher frequency than deletion in all factor groups in both internal environmental constraints and external factor. The overall percentage of contraction (61%) is much higher than the overall percentage of deletion (19%) on both tables. This may be a result of shift in style in response to the perceived formality of the data collection procedure. Speakers tend to have metalinguistic awareness about the formality of any written material. We shall return to this subsequently, but for now let us talk about the table in 2. The information on table 2 pattern, largely, in a similar way with similar tables or analyses of the variable by other analysts. For instance, in Following Grammatical Environment factor group, the table pattern like the table presented by Rickford (1999: 68) as a result of the analyses of the data from East Palo Alto, California. On that table, contraction of the copula is high when following *gonna* (84%) and low when following NP (31%) with verb + ing, locatives and adjectives taking comparable

intermediate hierarchy in that order. In our table and under this factor group, copula contraction is high when following *gonna* (74%) and low when following NP (64%) though this is not as strikingly different as in East Palo Alto case. However, copula contraction in our analysis is very low when following adjective (33%) which has the least percentage of contraction under this factor group. On subject factor group, our analysis also patterns in a similar manner like the analysis in Rickford (1999:68) with high contraction frequency after personal pronouns (70% in our analysis and 78% in Rickford's analysis of East Palo Alto data) and low contraction frequency after noun phrases (53% in our analysis and 31% in Rickford's East Palo Alto data). We notice the closeness in percentages of contraction of the copula as a function of subject factor group for personal pronoun and noun phrase. This may be one of the consequences of the difference in data collection method.

On the Following Phonological Environment, our table shows that copula contraction is high when preceding vowels (64%) and low when preceding consonants (58%). This is also in line with underlying phonological facts as contraction involves the removal of a vowel cluster; a marked feature. The pattern we got is in line with Rickford's analysis- (48% for consonant and 52% for vowel). On the Preceding Phonological Environment, our analysis shows that contraction is high when following vowels (63%) and low when following consonants (54%). This is in line with a study by Labov 1969: 731-746 cited in Rickford 1999:70) on the speech of New York Jets. Labov found out that the copula contraction frequency is high when preceding vowel, a pronoun subject and a following *gonna.*

Though the overall frequency of deletion of the copula in this study is relatively low compared to many other analyses of this same variable by other analysts, the table 3 in our study patterns in a similar manner like the table on deletion of *is* and *are* in Rickford (1999: 69) especially with respect to Following Grammatical Environment, Following Phonological Environment, Preceding Phonological Environment and age.

On the Following Grammatical Environment, our analysis shows that the deletion of copula is high when preceding *gonna* (32%) and low when preceding noun phrase (14%) with following adjective, verb + ing and locative taking intermediate hierarchy in that order. Also, in Rickford's analysis, deletion is high when following *gonna* (81%) and low when following a noun phrase (30%). However, in this case the factors verb + ing comes the next in the hierarchy with (72%) while in our analysis the factor verb + ing ranks third in the hierarchy with (17%) with adjective taking the second position with (19%). Also, in Preceding Phonological environment factor group, our analysis shows that deletion is high when preceded by consonants (24%) and low when preceded by vowels (15%). This is in line with Labov (1969) analysis of the deletion of *is* in AAVE which claims that deletion involves the removal of the sibilant consonant after the initial contraction. (in Labov's framework, deletion is derivational. Every case of deletion has a history of contraction. That is, you can only delete contracted forms).

I return to the issue of the low frequency of deletion in this study in comparison with similar studies by other analysts mentioned in this work. Although I need data from recordings of live speech[1] from this same set of participants to compare with the survey data before I can make any categorical inference about the possible effects of the perceived formality of the medium of communication on style, we can say, tentatively, that medium might have affected the style of response in our data. This is reminiscent of Foxy's case mentioned earlier and reminds me of the case I met in the field while conducting the survey: an AAVE speaker approached and I asked him to participate in the survey and he quickly obliged and

---

1) I am aware that the use of questionnaire is not the standard way of conducting this kind of research but I believe that it is quite suitable in this case as it has served one of the purposes of this research which is to provide additional information to already existing research results in this area especially as regards how the perceived formality of medium can affect the style of responses to the survey questionnaire.

I handed him the questionnaire. While completing the questionnaire, he stopped and asked me in AAVE: *How many have you did? (asking about how many questionnaires I have administered so far).* But when he handed the questionnaire back to me after completion, I took a quick look at his choices and I was shocked to observe that he chose most full forms in the options. This observation tickles my imagination that perhaps if the choices in the survey questionnaire were between the forms: *How many have you did?* and *How many have you done*, perhaps he would choose the latter.

The two tables in our study show age as a social correlate of the use of contraction and deletion of copula in AAVE. Table 2 shows that younger people strongly favor the contraction of the copula (66%) while older people strongly disfavor the contraction of the copula (28%). In a similar way, table 3 shows that younger people favor the deletion of the copula (20%) while older people disfavor the deletion of the copula (8%). This results is in consonance with the results in similar studies including Rickford (1999:76) who states that "with respect to age, depicted in figure 4.6, both runs show a linear correlation, the youngest speakers strongly favoring deletion, whereas the oldest age group disfavors deletion strongly…". Other work with similar results include; Labov (1969), Fordham and Ogbu (1986), Rickford (1992) and others.

This leads us to the issue of Divergence Hypothesis and Age Grading; two controversial topics in the AAVE literature. Divergence hypothesis champions the idea that the significant age effect on deletion and contraction of the copula and similar effect on other studied features of AAVE is an indication of linguistic change in progress that will eventually lead to more divergence between AAVE and Standard American English (SAE) and other varieties of English. On the other hand, age grading hypothesis champions the idea that the significant effects of age on deletion and contraction of copula and other AAVE features is an indication of the phenomenon of age grading where people tend to speak differently when

they are younger than when they are older (Rickford 1992, 1999). That is, certain features of AAVE would disappear in the speech of speakers as they get older. The line of reasoning put forward by Rickford is based on the data from Foxy which shows that she deleted the copula 90% of the time when she was first interviewed in 1987 having just turned fourteen at that time, but that she deleted the copula 70% of the time when interviewed by the same person and under similar circumstance in 1990.

However, I think that if we look closely at the other side of the coin, we might have some reasons to consider evidence in support of change-in-progress more closely. For instance, Cukor-Avila (2001) has shown that different socio-historical contexts correlate with linguistic differences between AAVE and South White Vernacular English (SWVE) and other varieties. That is, as we stated earlier, the pre-WWII period witnessed significant increase in social contact between African Americans and the White Americans and so there were many shared linguistic features while the post-WWII period saw reduced social contact between this two groups resulting in less linguistic similarities between AAVE and other varieties. Our point is that older people are closer in time to this era of significant social contact between African Americans and European Americans therefore their speech retains the linguistic similarity. On the other hand, lesser social contact with the White coupled with peer pressure against "speaking and acting white" and the need to maintain socio-cultural identity among younger speakers of AAVE lead to more social and structural linguistic divergence between AAVE and SAE and other varieties.

Another line of reasoning that we want to advance in support of the divergence hypothesis is concerned with the drastic decrease in the frequency of Foxy's contraction and deletion of the copula when she was interviewed by a stranger and the low frequency of copula deletion in our study. We analyze these as indication of the fact that younger speakers of AAVE are conscious of both the linguistic and social differences between AAVE

speakers and speakers of other varieties and consciously make choices regarding which norm to use at which contexts to satisfy their communicative and socio-cultural needs. This sort of conscious social behavior is not likely to disappear with age rather it might increase as a correlate of the perceived physical, socio-cultural and psychological distance between AAVE speakers and speakers of other varieties.

This perceived physical, sociocultural and psychological distance brings to mind the question of possible correlation between such perceived distance and the issue of language in education. Do these perceived distance accessioned by the structural linguistic differences discussed in this paper present social psychological differences among the students who are speakers of AAVE and teachers who are speakers of SAE that may cause pedagogical setbacks for such students in contemporary American schools? The answer to this question is a resounding yes. For instance, Smitherman 2003: 141 reports that:

> Research on language attitudes consistently indicates teachers' believe that Black English-speaking youngsters are non-verbal and possess limited vocabularies. They are perceived to be slow learners or uneducable; their speech is unsystematic and needs constant correction and improvement … These beliefs [are] linguistically untenable. Smitherman 2003:141

In fact, many linguists including Labov 1982, Smitherman 2003, Hall et al 2011 have reported that such students, being bidialectal, have little trouble understanding their teachers although the teachers have claimed otherwise. For example, the pattern of copula deletion and contraction in Foxy's speech provides support for this claim because the drastic decrease in the frequency of copula deletion and contraction in this teenager's speech when she was interviewed by a stranger points to the fact that she is bidialectal and also actively conscious of the social distance and the sociolinguistic differences that exit between herself and the perceived

stranger.

This kind of pedagogic setbacks between the teachers and the students could be remedied by creating a strong connection between the home language or local forms of language and the language of instruction in schools. Resent efforts to create such connection is championed in a research program known as funds of knowledge for teaching (Gonzalez et al. 2005, Smith 2002, Gee 2007 etc.). In this program, teachers are exposed to the neighborhoods where students live and family visits by the teachers help them to explore and understand the areas of everyday knowledge used in the students' homes and to document the language forms and practices that family members engage as they enact these forms of knowledge (Hall et al 2011). This creates a level of confidence and mutual trust among teachers, parents and the students thereby allowing the teachers to tap from the areas of strength accruing to the students due to the funds of knowledge cultivated at home.

9. Conclusion

This study focused on the analysis of the structural and social variables that may correlate with the use of copula contraction and deletion in the speech of African American vernacular English speakers in Georgia. Our analyses show that structural factors such as preceding and following grammatical environments coupled with the preceding and the following phonological environments such as preceding and following vowels and consonants are important factors in determining the pattern of deletion and contraction of the copula. The results show that the overall frequency of contraction is much higher than the overall frequency of deletion in all factor groups including the age of the speakers as a correlate where the data show that younger speakers tend to use copula contraction and deletion more frequently than older speakers. We analyze these as a function

of the fact that younger speakers of AAVE are more conscious of both the linguistic and social differences between AAVE speakers and speakers of other varieties and consciously make choices regarding which norm to use at which contexts to satisfy their communicative and socio-cultural needs. This kind of conscious social behavior has the tendency to create more sociolinguistic divergence among speakers of AAVE, SAE and other varieties.

❖ References

Alleyne, Mervyn. 1980. *Comparative Afro-American*, Ann-Abor, Mich: Karoma

Bailey, Berl. 1965. “Toward a New Perspective in Negro English Dialectology”, *American Speech,* 40: 171-7.

Bailey, Guy and Marvin Bassett. 1986. “Invariant Be in the Lower South”, In *Language Variety in the South*, Michael Montgomery and Bailey eds. 158-79. Alabama: University of Alabama Press.

Bailey, Guy and Natalie Maynor. 1989. “The Convergence Controversy”. *American Speech* 64: 12-39.

Baugh, John. 1979. *Linguistic Style-Shifting in Black English:* PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvenia.

Baugh, John. 1980. “A re-examination of Black English copula”. In W. Labov ed. 1980b, 83-106.

Bickerton, Derek. 1973b. “On the Nature of Creole Continuum”, *Language* 49: 640-69

Cukor-Avila, Patritia. 1995. *The Evolution of AAVE in the Rural Texas Community: An Ethnolinguistic Study*: PhD dissertation, University of Michigan.

Cukor-Avila, Patritia. 2001. “Co-existing Grammars: The Relationship between the Evolution of African American and Southern White Vernacular English in the South”. In Sonia I. Lanehart (ed.), *Sociocultural and Historical Contexts of African American English.* Philadelphia/Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Dunlap, Howard. 1974. *Social Aspects of a Verb Form: Native Atlanta fifth-grade Speech-the Present Tense of Be*: Publication of the American Dialect Society 61-2: 1-96, Alabama: Alabama University Press.

Fasold, Ralph. 1972. *Tense Marking in Black English: A Linguistic and Social Analysis.* Washington, D. C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Feagin, Crawford. 1970. *Variation and Change in Alabama English*: *A Sociolinguistic Study of the White Community*. Washington: Georgetown University Press.

Feagin, Crawford. 1979. *Variation and Change in Alabama English: A Sociolinguistic Study of the White Community.* Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Fordham, Signithia and John Ogbu. 1986. “Black Students’ School Success: Coping with the Burden of acting White”, *Urban Review* 18: 1-29.

Gee, J.P. 2007. *What Video Games Have to Teach us about Learning and Literacy*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Gonzalez, N. E., Moll, L.C. and Amanti, C. 2005. *Funds of Knowledge: Theorizing*

Practices in Households, Communities, and Classrooms. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbuam.

Hall, Christopher., Smith, P. and Wicaksono, R. 2011. *Mapping Applied Linguistics: A Guide for Students and Practitioners*. New York: Routledge.

Holm, John. 1984. "Variability of the Copula in Black English and its Creole Kin". *American Speech* 59: 291-309.

Labov, William, Paul Cohen, Clarence Robins and John Lewis. 1968, *A Study of the Non-Standard English of Negro and Puerto-Rican Speakers in New York City. Final Report, Cooperative Research Project* 3228, vols I and II. Philadelphia: US Regional Survey.

Labov, William. 1969. "Contraction, Deletion and Inherent Variability of the English Copula" *Language* 45: 715-62.

Labov, William. 1972c. *Language in the Inner City: Studies in the Black Vernacular*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Labov, William. 1982. "Objectivity and Commitment in Linguistic Science: The case of the Black English Trail in Ann Arbor". *Language in Society*, 11, 2, 165-201.

Labov, William. 1987. "Are Black and White Vernaculars Diverging?" Papers from the NWAVE-XIV Panel Discussion. *American Speech* 62, 5-12.

McElhiny, Bonnie. 1993. "Copula and Auxiliary Contraction in the Speech of White Americans" *American Speech* 68, 4, 371-99.

Mufwene, Salikoko. 2001. *The Ecology of Language Evolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University press.

Poplack, Shana (ed.). 2000. *The English History of African American English*. New York: Blackwell.

Poplack, Shana and David Sankoff. 1987. "The Philadelphia Story in the Spanish Caribbean". *American Speech* 62, 291-314.

Poplack, Shana and Sali Tagliamonte. 2001. African American Speech in the Diaspora. Oxford: Blackwell.

Rickford, John. 1999. *African American Vernacular English: Features, Evolution, Educational Implications,* Malden: Blackwell.

Rickford, John, Arnetha Ball, Renee Blake, Riana Jackson and Naomi Martin. 1991. "Rappin on the copula coffin: Theoretical and Methodological issues in the Analysis of Copula Variation in African American Vernacular English" *Language Variation and Change* 3:103-32.

Richford, John R. and F. McNair-Knox. 1994. "Addressee-and – topic-influenced Style Shift: A Quantitative Sociolinguistic Study". In *Perspective on Register: Situating Register Variation Within Sociolinguistics*, D. Biber and E, Finegan, 235-76.

Rickford, John. 1992. “Grammatical Variation and Divergence”. In *Vernacular Black English: Internal and External Factors in Syntactic Change*, Marinel Gerritsen and Dieter Stein 175-200. The Hague: Mouton.

Rickford, John and Renee Blake. 1990. “Copula Contraction and Absence in Barbadian English, Samana English and Vernacular Black English”. In *Proceedings of Sixteenth Annual Meeting of Berkeley Linguistics Society,* K. Hall, J-P Koenig, M. Meacham, S. Reinman, and L. A. Sutton, 257-68. Berkeley, CA: Berkeley Linguistic Society.

Rickford, John and Christine Theberge-Rafal. 1996. “Preterite Had + V-ed in Narratives of African-American Preadolescents”. *American Speech* 71:227-254.

Smith, P. H. 2002. “Ni a pocha va a llegar: Minority Language Loss and Dual Language Schooling in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands”. *Southwest Journal of Linguistics*, 21, 1, 165-183.

Smitherman, G. 2003. Talkin that talk: Language. Culture and Education in African America. London: Routledge.

Stewart, William. 1970b. “Toward a History of American Negro Dialect” In *Language and Poverty*, F. Williams 351-79. Chicago: Markham.

Sommer, Elizabeth. 1986. “Variation in Southern Urban English” In *Language Variety in the South*, Michael B. Montgomery and Guy Bailey, 180-201. University: University of Alabama Press.

Wolfram, Walt. 1969, *A Sociolinguistic Description of Detroit Negro Speech.* Washington D.C: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Wolfram, Walt. 1971. “Black-White Speech Difference Revisited”. In *Black-White Speech Relationships,* Walt Wolfram and Nora H. Clarke. Washington, D C: Center for Applied Linguistics, 39-65.

Wolfram, Walt. 1974. “The Relationship of White Southern Speech to Vernacular Black English” *Language* 50: 498-527.

Wolfram, Walt. 2004. *Dialect Awareness in Community Perspective. In Margaret C. Bender (ed.) Linguistic Diversity in the South: Changing Codes, Practices and Ideologies.* Athens: University of Georgia Press.

Wolfram, Walt and Erik Thomas. 2002. *The Development of African American English*. Malden, MA:Blackwell.

Winford, Donald. 1988, “Verbs, Adjectives and Categorical Shift in CEC”. Paper Presented at the Seventh Biennial Meeting of the Society for Caribbean Linguistics, College of the Bahamas, Nassau.

Appendix: The Survey Questionnaire

A Survey Questionnaire
on
Contraction and Deletion of Copula in African American Vernacular English (AAVE)

General instruction: (Please answer the questions according to how you would speak African American Vernacular English (AAVE) naturally in an informal setting (like at home with your family).

Section A (demographic information)

1 Name ....
2 Gender (check one): (a) male (b) female
3 City ....
4 State ....
5 How long have you lived here?............years
6 Age (please check one) (a) 15-30 (b) 31-60 (c) 61 and above
7 Highest level of education (please check one)
Elementary school
High school
College-BA/BS
Graduate School
8 Occupation ....
9 Are you an American? (a) Yes (b) No

Section B (Please check the most natural from each set)

1 i. (a). John gonna be home tonight
(b). John's gonna be home tonight
(c). John is gonna be home tonight
ii. (a). We gonna celebrate the victory

(b). We're gonna celebrate the victory
(c). We are gonna celebrate the victory

2 i. (a). She working in the city
(b). She's working in the city
(c). She is working in the city
ii. (a). They talking nonsense
(b) They're talking nonsense
(c). They are talking nonsense

3 i. (a). John at home now
(b). John's at home now
(c). John is at home now
ii. (a). They at home now
(b). They're at home now
(c). They are at home now

4. i. (a). I don't know whether the bag white or black
(b). I don't know whether the bag's white or black
(c). I don't know whether the bag is white or black
ii. (a). Folks in Atlanta nice people
(b). Folks in Atlanta're nice people
(c). Folks in Atlanta are nice people

5 i. (a). Tomorrow the game in New York
(b). Tomorrow's the game in New York
(c). Tomrrow is the game in New York
ii. (a). They the leaders in the school
(b). They're the leaders in the school
(c). They are the leaders in the school

Section C (Please check the most natural from each set)

1 i. (a). He working in the city
(b). He's working in the city
(c). He is working in the city

ii. (a). They dancing in the yard
(b). They're dancing in the yard
(c). They are dancing in the yard
2 i. (a). Someone knocking on the door
(b). Someone's knocking on the door
(c). Someone is knocking on the door
ii. (a). Everybody coming home tonight
(b). Everybody's coming home tonight
(c). Everybody is coming home tonight
3 i. (a). The dog barking in the yard
(b). The dog's barking in the yard
(c). The dog is barking in the yard
ii. (a). The people happy to visit Athens
(b). The people're happy to visit Athens
(c). The people are happy to visit Athens

Section D (Please check the most natural from each set)
1 i. (a). My dog cute
(b). My dog's cute
(c). My dog is cute
ii. (a). They playing in the yard
(b). They're playing in the yard
(c). They are playing in the yard
2 i. (a). John at home with my maama
(b). John's at home with my maama
(c). John is at home with my maama
ii. (a). The men in the living room
(b). The men're in the sitting room
(c). The men are in the sitting room

Section E (Please check the most natural from the set)

1 i. (a). The cat sitting in my bed
(b). The cat's sitting in my bed
(c). The cat is sitting in my bed
ii. (a). They dancing in the yard
(b). They're dancing in the yards
(c). They are dancing in the yard

2 i. (a). She at home now
(b). She's at home now
(c). She is at home now
ii. (a). John, you in the game tonight.
(b) John, you're in the game tonight
(c). John, you are in the game tonight

Thank you so much for your support

Towards a Student-centred Approach to Translation Teaching

Ali Almanna
(University of Nizwa, Oman)

Hashim Lazim
(University of Basra, Iraq)

▌ABSTRACT ▌

The aim of this article is to review the traditional methodologies of teaching translation that concentrate on text-typologies and, as an alternative, to propose an eclectic multi-componential approach that involves a set of interdisciplinary skills with a view to improving the trainee translators' competences and skills. To this end, three approaches, namely a minimalist approach, a pre-transferring adjustment approach and a revision vs. editing approach are proposed to shift the focus of attention from teacher-centred approaches towards student-centred approaches. It has been shown that translator training programmes need to focus on improving the trainee translators' competences and skills, such as training them how to produce and select among the different versions they produce by themselves with justified confidence as quickly as they can (minimalist approach), adjust the original text semantically, syntactically and/or textually in a way that the source text supplely accommodates itself in the linguistic system of the target language (pre-transferring adjustment), and revise and edit others' translations. As the validity of the approach proposed relies partially on instructors' competences and skills in teaching translation, universities, particularly in the Arab world, need to invest in recruiting expert practitioners instead of depending

mainly on bilingual teachers to teach translation.

Key Words
Editing, Minimalist Approach, Pre-transferring Adjustment, Revision and Translation Teaching.

Introduction

Teaching translation as a skill used to be mainly teacher-centred where only a very limited margin was left for students/learners to undertake the task of drilling it themselves, certainly with the help of the instructor. Besides that, translation teaching has been considerably based on the instructor's proficient language command. With the breakthroughs witnessed in different spheres of linguistic studies and other related disciplines, translation instructors nowadays need to be knowledgeable about various linguistic disciplines, such as revision, editing, documentation, desktop publishing, etc. (Olvera-Lobo *et al*, 2005: 132). In this regard, Kingscott (1995: 295) holds that "university courses should not simply be practice-oriented. It is the role of universities to open up students' minds, not to tunnel them in a particular direction". Translating programmes therefore need to view translating as an activity which takes place within a social context and "should be based on a careful and up-to-date assessment of their multifaceted future profession" (Ulrych, 1995: 251). Further, those programmes need to "cater for client-related skills since a significant part of translators' future professional lives" depend partially on the amount of educational training they receive, "whether they opt for in-house or freelance translating" (ibid).

It is held in this article that in parallel to 1) the traditional methodologies of translation teaching that focus on text-typologies and 2) training strategies that can develop professional informational skills, such as using the Internet

and the like, attention needs to be paid to the tactics of teamwork cooperation. This is in order to provide the student trainees with a beneficial learning experience that enhances their competences, be it translating competence, linguistic competence, communicative competence, cultural competence, research competence, etc. According to the EN-15038 European Quality Standard for Translation Services, paragraph 3.2.2 (2006: 7), a qualified translator should have the following competences:

a) Translating competence;
b) Linguistic and textual competence in the source language and the target language;
c) Research competence;
d) Cultural competence; and
e) Technical competence (for more details, see Pre-transferring Adjustment in this paper).

Kiraly (2000) lays emphasis on the importance of encouraging student translators to team up as groups and work together confidently. This can be achieved when translation teaching is based on "authentic situated action, the collaborative construction of knowledge, and personal experience" (ibid: 3). In a similar vein, Al-Qinai (2011: 24) holds that "students' motivation increases tremendously if they are given authentic translation tasks which will eventually be published on the web or in any other media form". Further, the translation teachers prior to selecting or producing resources to their students need to figure out and analyze the student trainees' needs. This attunes well with Thornbury's (2006: 58) view that any course design should consist of a number of stages at the forefront of which come the learner's needs. The stages include:

a) identification and analysis of the learners' needs;
b) defining the overall objectives of the course in relation to the learners' needs;
c) syllabus design;

d) selecting or producing resources;
e) identifying the ways of testing learners at different stages of the course; and
f) evaluation which involves ways and procedures for evaluating the overall success of the learners.

In what follows, the researcher will touch on three different approaches that can be used in class with a view to improving the trainee translators' competences and skills – they are the minimalist approach, pre-transferring adjustment and revision vs. editing. These three approaches shift the focus of attention towards students by encouraging them to produce and select among different versions they produce by themselves with justified confidence as quickly as they could, adjust the original text semantically, syntactically and/or textually in a way that the original supplely accommodates itself in the linguistic system of the target language (TL), and revise and edit others' translations.

Objectives & Methodology

This article proposes a move away from the traditional methodologies of teaching translation that focus on text-typologies to a student-oriented approach that involves a set of interdisciplinary skills with a view to improving students' translation quality. Since translation is multidisciplinary, translator training programmes need to cover not only proficient language command in both source- and target languages, but need to bring together knowledge and skills that belong to different disciplines, such as revision, editing, documentation, desktop publishing and the like.

It is generally observed in teaching translation at the Department of Foreign Languages - English Language Section, College of Arts and Sciences, University of Nizwa (Oman) and the Department of Translation,

College of Arts, University of Basra (Iraq), that instructors play an almost exclusively key role in the teaching process except for few cases. As students practice translating texts prescribed by their instructors without recourse to other pertinent linguistic disciplines as props and motivation, their translation output therefore remains restricted and noncreative. Be that as it may, it is hypothesized in this paper that helping students to translate as cooperative teams instead of working individually, on the one hand, and acquainting them with the relevant disciplines to translation, such as revision, editing, skills of pre-transferring adjustment etc, on the other, would surely improve the translation process, and thus enhance their translation competence. To verify these assumptions, the researcher would undertake a number of tests (see next sections). As there are three different approaches proposed in this study, namely a minimalist approach, pre-transferring adjustment and revision vs. editing, three different tests were designed. This is because an empirical research design was most apt for such types of studies that attempt to

a) have new data or new information derived from the observation of data or from experimental work;
b) obtain solid evidence which supports or disconfirms hypotheses; or
c) generate new hypotheses or claims (cf. Williams and Chesterman, 2002: 58).

1. Minimalist Approach

According to this approach, the trainee translators are asked to produce and select among the different versions they produce by themselves. To put this differently, the trainee translator produces a number of drafts for the same source text (ST), and then selects the most suitable draft among the drafts s/he has already produced. The aim of such an exercise for the trainee translators is to enhance their ability to create a variety of

drafts for the same ST on the on hand, and to select among the drafts with justified confidence as quickly as they can. So, the emphasis is laid here on the elimination of the most preferable target text (TT) (Pym, 2003: 494).

Accordingly, it is a student-centred approach where the task of the teacher is kept to a minimum. Despite the fact that translation teachers have the right to produce their own versions and assess the student translators' versions, they should work, according to this approach, as coaches who do not interfere till a late stage on the one hand, and their training of the student translators should not be based on individualism of such assessment procedures on the other hand (ibid: 490).

By way of illustration, let us have a look at the following examples, translated first by individual students and then re-translated collectively by a group of student translators by adopting a minimalist approach:

Discussion of the translation test:

Ten fourth-year students of the Translation Department, College of Arts, University of Basra were randomly chosen to translate a short text (around 100 words) entitled *'Once You Start, It's Hard to Stop'* from English into their own language, Arabic (see appendix 1). The sample included males and females aged between 22 and 35. Having implicitly informed the translator students of the translation purpose and the intended readership of the TT by stating that their translations will be published in one the local magazines, the researcher gave them one hour to finish translating ST. The students were allowed to use dictionaries. They were asked first to do their translations individually. Then, only a group of five students, who had already undertaken the individual translations, were asked to re-translate the same text collaboratively.

Analysis of Translations

Although the testees are in their fourth year and translating into their own language, their translations exhibit a number of instances of grammatical mistakes, misspellings, syntactic anomaly, omission, addition, shifts in verb aspect, shifts in register, generalizing strategies and wrong lexical choices:

▶ Grammatical mistakes

- تشير الاحصائيات ان مايقارب حوالي من 9الى 10 من مستخدمو مادة التبغ قد بدؤا التدخين قبل سن الثامن عشر . معظم البالغين الذين بدؤا التدخين في سن المراهقة لايتوقع ابدا ان يصبحوا مدمنين .
- لا يعتقد الراشدين الذين بدئوا التدخين في سن المراهقة انهم سيصلوا لدرجة الادمان.لذلك ينصح الناس الا يدخنو اطلاقا.
- ان الجسم والعقل يجعلان احتياجهم للنيكوتين الموجود بالسجائر بصورة دائمة حتى تجعل الشخص يشعر بالارتياح
- معظم البالغون الذين بدؤا التدخين في سن المراهقة لايتوقع ابدا ان يصبحوا مدمنين .هذا هو السبب لماذا يقول الناس بان الحل الوحيد هو عدم الاقبال على التدخين باي حال من الاحوال

▶ *Misspellings* as in the following examples:

- تظهر الإحصائيات بأن حوالي تسعة من عشرة مدخنين بدأو التدخين قبل سن الثمانية عشر عاما.
- وتشير تلك الإحصائيات أن اغلب البالغين الذين بدأو التدخين في سن مبكرة لم يخطر ببالهم أنهم سيصبحون مدمنين يوما ما وهذا ما يجعل الناس يعتقدون أن تجنب التدخين هو الحل الأمثل.
- يشرع الناس بالتدخين لاسباب متنوعه بعظهم يدخن لانه يظن بان التدخين عاده رائعه
- لا يعتقد الراشدين الذين بدئوا التدخين في سن المراهقة انهم سيصلوا لدرجة الادمان.لذلك ينصح الناس الا يدخنو اطلاقا.
- تشير الاحصائيات ان مايقارب حوالي من 9الى 10 من مستخدمو مادة التبغ قد بدؤا التدخين قبل سن الثامن عشر . معظم البالغين الذين بدؤا التدخين في سن المراهقة لايتوقع ابدا ان يصبحوا مدمنين .

▶ *Syntactic anomaly*. Such syntactic anomalies have aroused some awkward understanding leading to disconcerted renditions as in the following two examples:

- التدخين هو عادة يصعب تركها وذلك لانه التبغ يحتوي على النيكوتين وهو يعتبر الى حد ما الادمان
- ان الجسم والعقل يجعلان احتياجهم للنيكوتين الموجود بالسجائر بصورة دائمة حتى تجعل الشخص يشعر بالارتياح

▶ *Omission*

In the following translations, the testees resorted to omitting the adverb *'highly'* in

- *Smoking is a hard habit to break because tobacco contains nicotine, which is highly addictive*.

- التدخين عادة يصعب الاقلاع عنها وذلك لأحتواء التبغ على النيكوتين والذي يسبب الادمان [...]
- من العادات التي يصعب التوقف عنها : التدخين وذلك لاحتواء السجائر على مادة النيكوتين و التي تعتبر من المواد المسببة للادمان [...]
- يعتبر التدخين احدى العادات السيئة والتي من الصعوبة الاقلاع عنها بسبب احتواء التبغ على مادة النيكوتين والمسببة للادمان [...]
- يعد التدخين عادة صعب الاقلاع عنها بسبب مادة التبغ الحاوية على النيكوتين المسببة للادمان [...]
- التدخين هو من الأمور التي لا يمكن التخلص منها بسهولة بسبب احتواء التبغ على مادة مسببة للإدمان وهي النيكوتين [...]

They could have opted for expressions, such as بشكل كبير or بطريقة كبيرة to conjure up a similar mental image in the mind of the target reader. In studying the transitivity choices, what is of greater importance is to maintain an accurate mental picture of the world around us through opting for "syntactic correspondence which maps synonymous or quasi-synonymous meaning across cultural boundaries" (Al-Rubai'i, 1996: 103). Omission can be justified when the element/expression/clause is not important to the development of the text and omitting it does not harm the author's intention or alter the text-type focus, but, on the contrary, retaining it in the TT might complicate the structure and strike the TL receptor as unusual.

▶ *Adding unnecessary words*:

Although student translators do not seem to overtranslate, their attempts in the following examples reflect some lack of attentiveness during the translation process:

- *Most adults who started smoking in their teens never expected to become addicted. That's why people say it's just so much easier to not start smoking at all.*

- تشير الإحصائيات إلى إن 9 من 10 مدخنين لم يخطر ببالهم إن يكونوا مدمنين في المستقبل. لهذا يؤمن الناس انه من الأفضل عدم التدخين على الإطلاق وتجنب المشاكل الناتجة عنه.
- معظم البالغون الذين بدؤا التدخين في سن المراهقة لايتوقع ابدا ان يصبحوا مدمنين .هذا هو السبب لماذا يقول الناس بان الحل الوحيد هو عدم الاقبال على التدخين باي حال من الاحوال

▶ *Shift in verb aspect*:

In this sentence: *'Statistics show that about 9 out of 10 tobacco users start before they're 18 years old'*, almost all the testees did not pay attention

to the verb aspect. Although the original writer uses a simple present tense expressed by *'show',* the emphasis in the original sentence is on the completion of the action, rather than on its continuity or frequency; hence the possibility of opting for a simple past tense in the TT as in:

- أظهرت الإحصائيات (أو أشارت الإحصائيات إلى) أن 9 أشخاص من أصل 10 يبدأون التدخين قبل سن الثامنة عشر.

Below is another example in which a shift in verb aspect occurs:

- *Most adults who started smoking in their teens never expected to become addicted. That's why people say it's just so much easier to not start smoking at all.*

- معظم البالغون الذين بدؤا التدخين في سن المراهقة لايتوقع ابدا ان يصبحوا مدمنين .هذا هو السبب لماذا يقول الناس بان الحل الوحيد هو عدم الاقبال على التدخين باي حال من الاحوال
- معضم البالغين الذين بدأو التدخين في سن المراهقة لايتوقع ابدا" أن يصبحو مدمنين ولذلك فالبعض يقول انه من السهل جدا" الامتناع عن التدخين اطلاقا".
- و معظم البالغين الذين يبدءون التدخين في سن المراهقة لا يتوقعون أبدا أن يصبحوا مدمنين و هذا هو سبب قول الناس انه من الأسهل عدم البدء بالتدخين إطلاقا.
- لا يعتقد الراشدون الذين بدئوا التدخين في سن المراهقة انهم سيصلوا لدرجة الادمان.لذلك ينصح الناس الا يدخنو اطلاقا

Here, the translations exhibit a shift in verb aspect from perfective, expressed by a simple past tense *'started'* and *'expected'* in English to simple aspect expressed by the present tense in Arabic يبدءون (sic.) and لا يتوقع أبدا . The emphasis in the original text is on the completion of the action, rather than on its regularity and frequency.

▶ *Shift in register:*

In the following translation, for example, a shift in the mode of discourse can be detected. The student translator opted for the adjective صعب *'difficult'* which in such a structure sounds colloquial, thus changing the mode of discourse from a written mode of discourse into a spoken one. Further, she resorted to the lexical item بخير *'fine'*, thereby affecting the mode, tenor and field of discourse.

- يعد التدخين عادة صعب الاقلاع عنها بسبب مادة التبغ الحاوية على النيكوتين المسببة للادمان حيث يصبح الجسم والعقل معتاد على النيكوتين في السجائر فيحصل عليها فقط ليشعر انه بخير , تماما كما الهيروين او العقاقير المخدرة الاخرى.

▶ *Generaliz*ing Translation:

The following translation contains a generalizing strategy in which the denotative meaning of the lexical item الأمور 'lit. *things*' in the TL is wider and less specific than its counterpart in the original language, i.e. *'habit'*. When "the TL does in fact offer a suitable alternative", such as عادة '*habit*', such a generalising translation is not acceptable (Dickins *et al*, 2002: 57):

Smoking is a hard habit to break because tobacco contains nicotine, which is highly addictive.

- التدخين هو من الأمور التي لا يمكن التخلص منها بسهولة بسبب احتواء التبغ على مادة مسببة للإدمان وهي النيكوتين.

▶ *Wrong lexical choice*:

In the following translation, the student translator opted for the word إحصاءات, which is the plural from of إحصاء *'census'* __ it should be إحصائيات the plural of إحصائية *'statistic'*:

- وتظهر الاحصاءات إن ما يقارب 9 من اصل 10 من مستهلكي التبغ قد بدأوا التدخين قبل سن الثامنة عشر.

Also, the denotative meaning and connotative meaning of the defined lexical item الراشد do not correspond accurately to the original tem, i.e. *'adult'*. Any person who is راشد *'legally major'* means that s/he is بالغ *'adult'*, but not the other way round:

- لا يعتقد الراشدون الذين بدئوا التدخين في سن المراهقة انهم سيصلوا لدرجة الادمان.لذلك ينصح الناس الا يدخنو اطلاقا

▶ *Comprehension:*

Some translations contain sentences that do not seem to make sense at all. The following translations, in addition to containing spelling and

grammatical mistakes, definitely lack coherence and interrelatedness:

- معضم البالغين الذين بدأو التدخين في سن المراهقة لايتوقع ابدا" أن يصبحو مدمنين ولذلك فالبعض يقول انه من السهل جدا" الامتناع عن التدخين اطلاقا".
- ومعظم البالغين بداؤه التدخين في عمر المراهقة الذي لم يتوقع بانهم سيكونون مدمنين وهذا هو السبب لقول الناس فقط اذا لم تبدأ بالتدخين منذ البداية على الاطلاق لكان الامر اسهل .
- معضم البالغين الذين بدأو التدخين في سن المراهقة لايتوقع ابدا" أن يصبحو مدمنين ولذلك فالبعض يقول انه من السهل جدا" الامتناع عن التدخين اطلاقا".

▶ *Literalism*

Most of the testees failed to decipher what is exactly meant by *'normal'* in the original text and translated it literally:

- *'Like heroin or other addictive drugs, the body and mind quickly become so used to the nicotine in cigarettes that a person needs to have it just to feel normal'*,

- حالها حال الهيروين اوالعقاقيرالمخدرة الاخرى، إذ سرعان ما يعتاد الجسم والعقل على هذه المادة في السجائر فلا يشعر المرء بأنه طبيعي حتى يحصل عليها.
- مثل الهيروين وغيره من المخدرات . يعتاد العقل والجسم بسرعه على استخدام نيكوتين السجائر والتي يحتاجها المرء لكي يشعر بانه طبيعي.
- مثل الهيروين و باقي المخدرات.فيصبح الجسد و العقل معتادان على النيكوتين الموجود في السجائر بسرعة فيقوم الشخص بتدخينها ليشعر فقط بأنه طبيعي.

▶ *Text p*resentation

All testees did not give full consideration to the layout of their translations where they left a space before the quotation marks and/or forgot to leave a space after some of the full stops, thus affecting the physical presentation of their renderings. These are only two examples:

- يبدأ الاشخاص بالتدخين لأسباب عدة , فالبعض يعتقد ان الامر يبدو جيدا" وآخرون يبدؤن التدخين لوجود افراد في العائلة أو اصدقاء مدخنين . تظهر الاحصائيات أن حوالي 9 من أصل 10 يبدؤن التدخين قبل سن الثامنة عشر ,معضم البالغين الذين بدأو التدخين في سن المراهقة لايتوقع ابدا" أن يصبحو مدمنين ولذلك فالبعض يقول انه من السهل جدا" الامتناع عن التدخين اطلاقا"
- يبدا الناس بالتدخين لاسباب متعددة فالبعض يعتبرونها عادة محببة والبعض لمجرد\ ان اصدقائهم و افراد عائلتهم يدخنون .اظهرت الاحصائيات ان تسعة من عشرة مدخنين يقومون بالتدخين قبل بلوغ الثامنة عشر . لا يعتقد الراشدون الذين بدئوا التدخين في سن المراهقة انهم سيصلوا لدرجة الادمان.لذلك ينصح الناس الا يدخنو اطلاقا

It is worth noting that the trainee translators do not have to resort to the minimalist approach when equivalents at the level of words, phrases, expressions or sometimes short sentences have been established. This is

because "in order for such an approach to work, it requires the presence of a problem and the generation of more than one rendition usually in a setting that involves a group of trainees" (Al-Qinai, 2011: 28). By way of explanation, let us consider the following examples in which equivalents at the lexical, phraseological, sentential level are established and need not to be negotiated:

ST	TT	Back-translation
Car	سيارة	Car
Mountain	جبل	Mountain
School uniform	زي مدرسي	School uniform
He went to (the) hospital.	ذهب إلى المستشفى.	He went to the hospital.

Collaborative Translation:

Discussion of the translation test:

As stated above, a group of five students, who had already undertaken the individual translations (see the minimalist approach), were asked to re-translate the same text collaboratively. It is hypothesized here that teamwork would certainly conduce to an improved and more integrated translation resulting from exchanging of views and persuasive arguments. Given one hour for translation, the collaborative translated text that follows shows a noticeable improvement compared with the individual attempts referred to earlier.

ما إن تبدأ فمن الصعب أن تتوقف!

يُعد التدخين عادة يصعب الاقلاع عنها لأن التبغ يحتوي على مركب النيكوتين والذي يسبب الادمان بصورة كبيرة كما هو حال الهيروين او العقاقير المخدرة الاخرى وسرعان ما يعتاد الجسم والعقل على تأثير النيكوتين الموجود في السجائر والتي يحتاجها المرء لكي يشعر بأنه طبيعي .

هناك اسباب متنوعة تدفع الناس للتدخين فبعظهم يعتقد انها تضفي مظهراً جذاباً وأخرون بسبب تأثرهم بأفراد العائلة او الاصدقاء من المدخنين وتشير الاحصائيات بأن ما يقارب 9 من اصل 10 مدخنين قد بدأوا التدخين قبل سن الثامنة عشر.معظم البالغين ممن بدأوا التدخين في سن المراهقة لم يكونوا يتوقعوا ان يصحبوا مدمنيين وهذا هو ما يدفع الناس للقول إن من الاسهل هو عدم البدأ بالتدخين اصلاً.

In their translating the text collaboratively, student translators, to a certain degree, succeeded in offering an equivalent text that effectively reflects the variables of register, the language function, the lexical choices and the verb aspects. Their collaborative translation seems generally coherent and understandable; it contains no example of any missing segment. This clearly proves that teamwork conduces to an improved and more integrated translation resulting from exchanging views and persuasive arguments. However, it still exhibits the following backwards:

- Spelling mistakes and/or typographical errors: بدأ, بعظهم and مدمنيين.
- Syntactic anomaly in ولم يكونوا يتوقعوا. Had they produced something like لم يتوقعوا , لم يكونوا ليتوقعوا or لم يكن بمقدورهم أن يتوقعوا, etc. they could have avoided such a syntactic anomaly.
- Wrong connector choice in connecting the following sentences:

- *Smoking is a hard habit to break because tobacco contains nicotine, which is highly addictive. Like heroin or other addictive drugs, the body and mind quickly become so used to the nicotine in cigarettes that a person needs to have it just to feel normal.*

- يُعد التدخين عادة يصعب الاقلاع عنها لأن التبغ يحتوي على مركب النيكوتين والذي يسبب الادمان بصورة كبيرة كما هو حال الهيروين او العقاقير المخدرة الاخرى وسرعان ما يعتاد الجسم والعقل على تأثير النيكوتين الموجود في السجائر والتي يحتاجها المرء لكي يشعر بأنه طبيعي .

Here, the student translators, after having re-marked the borders of the sentences, changed the relations between the sentences. They could have suggested something like المخدرة الأخرى التي سرعان ما ... ... الهيروين أو العقاقير to keep the relation intact on the one hand, and to make the TT hang together coherently.

2. Revision Vs Editing

In addition to the minimalist approach, another type of exercise needs to be activated in class, i.e. revision and editing. A distinction needs be made between these two processes, i.e. revision and editing, and other related processes such as proof-reading before I move on to give a detailed description of these processes. To start with, revision "entails a professional, informed assessment of translation decisions and products. The process of revision is bi-directional and its purpose is to exert quality control" (Chackachiro, 2005: 225). He adds that such a process requires the assessor to

a) comprehend the content of the ST,
b) assess the process of translation and
c) be familiar "with the target-language culture, audience, and literature (in the broadest sense of the word)" (ibid)

Revision is different from proof-reading and editing. Proof-readers normally busy themselves with language-related issues such as grammatical, syntactic, morphological, etc. and, at times, they pay attention to stylistic issues (for more details, see Almanna, 2013: 130-136). By contrast, what concerns editors is how to achieve the "optimum orientation" of the proof-read and revised TT to live up to the target reader's expectations (Graham, 1983: 104), by exploiting the lexical, syntactic and stylistic norms of the TL to the fullest (cf. Belhaaj, 1998: 85). In this regard, Mossop (2007: 120) lists four criteria that should be taken into account by translation editors. They are posed in the form of questions that editors should ask themselves:

1) Are there some parts of the text which will not be of interest to the target readership?

In his list of criteria, in particular the first one, it seems that Mossop,

"focusing on the translation of governmental papers to be used in the workings of institutions and departments, does not concern himself with literary texts" (Almanna, 2013: 134). As such, he does not account for the ethics of translation that "postulate that translation should signal the foreignness of the foreign text and create a readership that is more open to cultural differences" (Venuti, 1998: 87).

As such, there are two different approaches that a translation instructor can use in class, i.e. revision and editing. Revision as a tool for translation teaching can be conducted in different ways for example but not limited to:

a) the student provides his/her partner(s) with the source text that s/he has already searched and prepared an ideal translation for;
b) the teacher provides his/her students with the same text or different texts and asks the students to act as revisers to classmates; and
c) the teacher provides his/her students with a bad translation and asks them to improve it.

Of course, here the student as a reviser should have access to the source text and should bring issues such as accuracy, completeness, readability and the like to the fore. It is worth mentioning that student translators' abilities and skills can well be sharpened if they are given roles as participants in the translation process. Further, the student reviser needs to justify his/her comments. Consider the following examples:

ST	*People start smoking for a variety of different reasons. Some think it looks cool.*
TT	يشرع الناس بالتدخين لاسباب متنوعه بعظهم يدخن لانه يظن بان التدخين عاده رائعه
TT after revision	يشرع الناس بالتدخين لاسباب متنوعه بعضهم يدخن لانهم بعتقدون بان التدخين أمر جيد
Justification	In the translation there are some spelling mistakes and grammatical mistakes such as بعظهم that should be بعضهم and يظن that should be يظنون. I changed عادة رائعة into امر جيد because it is suitable for the text type.

ST	*Most adults who started smoking in their teens never expected to become addicted. That's why people say it's just so much easier to not start smoking at all.*
TT	معضم البالغين الذين بدأو التدخين في سن المراهقة لايتوقع ابدا" أن يصبحو مدمنين ولذلك "فالبعض يقول انه من السهل جدا" الامتناع عن التدخين اطلاقا.
TT after revision	معضم البالغين الذين بدأو التدخين في سن المراهقة لايتوقعون ابدا أن يصبحو مدمنين وهذا هو السبب لقول الناس بأنه أن لا نبدأ بالتدخين أسهل من الاقلاع عنه.
Justification	Although the translation is good, there are no connectors and it is literal word for word.

ST	*Statistics show that about 9 out of 10 tobacco users start before they're 18 years old.*
TT	مستخدمو مادة التبغ قد بدؤا التدخين 10 الى9 تشير الاحصائيات ان مايقارب حوالي من قبل سن الثامن عشر .
TT after revision	ن مستخدمي مادة التبغ قد بدؤا التدخين 10 إلى 9 وتشير الاحصائيات ان مايقارب من قبل سن الثامن عشر .
Justification	The translation is good, but I changed مستخدمو to مستخدمي because o: the preposition من and deleted the word حوالي as it is not important.

With regard to editing, the trainee students as editors are required to shift their focus of attention, with the help of their course instructors, towards naturalness, i.e. well-formedness, acceptability, idiomaticity, authenticity, contemporaneity, intelligibility, accessibility, and readability (cf. As-Safi and Ash-Sharifi (1997: 60-61). They have to work on the TT without any access to the ST. Their task is confined to improving the TT to live up to the target readers' expectations. Such an exercise will help trainee students to develop a set of skills that would enable them to get rid of the constraints imposed on them by virtue of the ST *per se*. It is the responsibility of translation instructors to encourage their students at the beginning of the course to write as a TL writer would, taking into consideration the likely reading ability of the user of the TT. In other words, trainee students are encouraged to give full consideration to 'expectation norm', i.e. they need to take into account the TL grammaticality, acceptability, appropriateness and so on in a certain text

type (Chesterman, 2000: 76). However, towards the end of the course, students' attention needs to be brought to the fact that there is an original text that needs to be analyzed, appreciated and reflected on in the TL, provided that this would not distort the TL linguistic and stylistic norms. This is in line with the 'relation norm', i.e. the translator has to take into consideration the relationship between the ST elements and the TT elements (ibid).

3. Pre-transferring adjustment

Translation competence (also known in Translation Studies as 'translation ability', 'translation skills', 'translation expertise') is defined by Bell (1991: 43) as the "knowledge and skills" that translators must have in order to be able to translate. It is clear that Bell makes a distinction between translation competence and translation skills as the latter is part of the former (this is in line with many scholars, such as Melis and Albir 2001; Pym 2003; Kelly 2005; PACTE 2003, 2005 among others). In addition to distinguishing between competence and skills, Pym (2003: 489) is of a view that there are two types of skills that are needed for translation competence. They are

1) The translator's ability to produce more than one TT for the ST at hand; and
2) The translator's ability to select the most appropriate TT as quickly as s/he can and with justified confidence.

Translation competence is well defined by PACTE (Process of the Acquisition of Translation Competence and Evaluation) research group (for more details, see Melis and Albir, 2001: 280; Albir and Alves, 2009: 65) as the underlying system of knowledge and skills required in order to be able to translate. Translation competence is subdivided by PACTE

into five sub-competences, namely: bilingual, extra-linguistic, instrumental, knowledge about translation and strategic. Talking of the same components, but introducing different sub-competences (communicative competence, cultural and intercultural competence, subject area competence, professional and instrumental competence, attitudinal or psycho-physiological competence, strategic competence and interpersonal competence), Kelly (2005: 33-34) lays emphasis on the interpersonal competence, i.e. the translator's ability to deal with other professionals.

The BSEN-15038 European Quality Standard for Translation Services, currently accepted as one of the international standards of reference regarding provision and supply of translation services, in its paragraph 3.2.2 (2006: 7) makes it explicit that a qualified translator should have the following competences:

1) Translating competence, i.e. "the ability to translate texts to the required level"; "it includes the ability to assess the problems of text comprehension and text production as well as the ability to render the target text [...] and to justify the results";
2) Linguistic and textual competence in the SL and the TL, i.e. "the ability to understand the source language and mastery of the target language". Textual competence requires knowledge of text type conventions for as wide a range of standard-language and specialised texts as possible";
3) Research competence, information acquisition and processing that require "experience in the use of research tools and the ability to develop suitable strategies for the efficient use of the information sources available";
4) Cultural competence, i.e. "the ability to make use of information on the locale, behavioural standards and value systems that characterise the source and target cultures"; and
5) Technical competence, i.e. "the abilities and skills required for professional preparation and production of translation", such as "the

ability to operate technical resources" (ibid: 7).

Translators, prior to transferring the analyzed materials, are most often required to make some adjustments to the ST at its lexical, syntactic or textual level. Rewriting the ST sentence without affecting the author's intention or text-type focus will definitely allow translators to exercise greater freedom of choice in rendering the extract at hand and let them remove the syntactico-semantic and socio-cultural constraints driven by the ST. This is in line with Wilss' (1982: 160) views that languages are "syntactically, lexically and socio-culturally non-isomorphic". Therefore, pre-transferring adjustment is a preliminary step that can be taken by translators to obtain a better insight into the ST.

As stated above, such an adjustment does not confine itself solely to the sentential level, but rather, in most cases, translators are highly advised to opt for such an adjustment at the phrasal and lexical levels. Replacing the ST word, for instance, with its synonyms would help the translator understand its denotative meaning, on the one hand, and it provides him/her with a number of equivalents, on the other. Checking the meaning of a lexical item in a bilingual dictionary and failing to find out its exact meaning because of its archaism, neologism and so on will lead the translator, as a last resort, to apply such an adjustment. Pre-transferring adjustment can be used to solve a great number of problems. They include, but not limited to:

1) pinpointing the implicit relationship between sentences;
2) surmounting the lexical, syntactic, pragmatic, cultural, etc. constraints imposed by the ST;
3) finding out the meaning of a lexical item which is not referred to in available dictionaries, either because of its archaism, neologism, and the like; or
4) copying with figurative language.

Such an adjustment is of crucial influence on the process and product of translation, in particular when the translators are of greater 'communicative' and 'linguistic competence' as well as 'contrastive knowledge' (Bell, 1991: 36-42). They will adjust the original text semantically, syntactically and/or textually in a way that the ST supplely accommodates itself in the linguistic system of the TL.

Discussion of the translation test:

20 undergraduate translation students at the Department of Foreign Languages – English Language Section, College of Arts and Sciences, University of Nizwa (Oman) were randomly selected. They were divided into two groups (ten students each). All of them have completed the requirements of the university and the requirements of the college. Further, they have just started their first semester in practicing translation. The sample included females aged between 19 and 23. Having practised on the proposed approach in the previous lecture and showed interest in it, ten students (henceforth called group A) were asked to translate a short text (around 40 words) entitled مظاهرات عارمة في اليمن *'massive demonstrations in Yemen'* from Arabic into English (see appendix 2). They were given ten minutes to finish translating the text and were not allowed to use dictionaries. Another ten students (henceforth called group B) were asked to translate the same text, but without practising on the proposed approached. Both groups were provided with the dictionary meanings of five key words, namely: مظاهرة *'demonstration'*, راتب *'salary'*,مصدر *'source'*, عنف *'violence'* and اعتقل *'arrest'*.

Analysis of Translations:

In an attempt to make the task of the analysis easier and enable the reader to follow our thread of argumentation more easily, the original text and translated texts are divided into smaller parts containing a sentence,

or a group of related sentences, reflecting a complete idea.

Group A:

- قامت مظاهرات عنيفة طافت شوارع العديد من مدن اليمن احتجاجا على تردي الخدمات وكذلك للمطالبة بزيادة رواتبهم الشهرية.
- وذكر مصدر موثوق به أن قوات الأمن طلبت من المتظاهرين عدم اللجوء إلى العنف، ولكن المتظاهرين لم يمتثلوا لنداء الشرطة وقاموا برمي رجال الأمن بالحجارة
- الأمر الذي أثار حفيظة رجال الشرطة وأدى إلى لجوئهم إلى اعتقال بعض المتظاهرين وزجّهم في السجن.

.

---

(1)
- There was a huge demonstration in the streets of many towns in Yemen to protest on bad services and demand increase the salaries.
- A known source mentioned that the police announced do not resort to dangerous things but they did not as the police need.
- [nothing].

---

(2)
- A big demonstration happened in many cities in Yemen to change the bad services and ask for increase salary.
- Strong source said that the police asked the demonstrators do not use the violence but the demonstrators did not care about the police voice and they start to throw the stones on the police.
- That made the police mad.

---

(3)
- A violence demonstration filled the streets of most cities in Yemen to protest of bad services and to increase their monthly salary.
- Informed source reported that the security forces asked the protestors to not resort to using the violence but the protestors do not care of what the police said and they attacked the security.
- [nothing].

---

(4)
- The demonstration went through many streets in Yemen cities protesting there were bad services. Also, they wanted high monthly salary.
- Great source said that the police want the demonstrators do not use violence but the demonstrators did not listen to the police.
- [nothing].

(5)
- There were demonstrations in many streets in Yemen because of bad services and people want more salary.
- And source say authorities do not want violence and the people do not listen to the police.
- Then the police arrested many people.

(6)
- The violence demonstration filled most streets of Yemen cities because the services were bad and they wanted increase in the salary.
- The informal source said the men of security wanted form the demonstrators did not allowed to violence but the demonstrators did not hear what the men of security and رمي الحجارة to the security.
- The men of security arrest some demonstrators.

(7)
- A large demonstration moved in many streets in yemen to protest on bad services, also demanding raising the salary.
- A confident source said that the security forces demanded from the demonstrators to not use the violence, but they did not listen to them and they throw on them stones.
- That situation made the police angry.

(8)
- A big demonstration happened in Yemen streets for bad services and to increase their salary.
- Confident source said that the police men طلب from the demonstrators did not use the violence but the demonstrators did not listen to the police men and throw the stone on them. As a result, the police men arrested some of the demonstrators and put them in the prison.

(9)
- A big demonstration filled streets in many cities in Yemen, that people did not like the services. Also, they want increase the salary.
- The source mentioned the police want the people who do demonstration did not use violence but the demonstrators did not listen to the police and they throw stones to the police.
- The police arrest them.

(10)
- The hard demonstration arrived to the city streets in Yemen because the demonstrators want to develop the services and to demonstrate to more monthly salary.
- The informed source declared that the police wanted from demonstrators do not do violence but the demonstrators did not hear the police and they threw the police by rocks.
- Because of that the police arrested some of the demonstrators.

Group B:

(1)
- Do dangerous demonstration in many streets in many countries of yemen because there are bad services. Also they want more month salaries.
- [nothing].
- [nothing].

(2)
- A group of people walked in many streets of Yemen to protest against bad services also they shouted to increase month salary.
- One source said that.
- [nothing].

(3)
- People big happened fill streets of many cities in Yemen because weak services and also request for rise the salary.
- [nothing].
- [nothing].

(4)
- A strong demonstration happened in many streets from cities of Yemen reflect for bad services also there for order or demand to increase salary monthly.
- Said strong source.
- [nothing].

(5)
- A big demonstration happen in a lot of Yemen roads because of the worst services and they need to increase their salary.
- From source said the police want from people do not use the violence.
- [nothing].

(6)
- It made a big demonstration, it appeared on roads of number cities in Yemen because does not has a good service also to increase month salary.
- [nothing].
- [nothing].

(7)
- Many people went in strong demonstrations in many streets in may cities in Yemen country because they disagree with rule country and there did not have enough money from their job.
- After that the policemen
- [nothing].

(8)
- They are do a strong demonstration in almost the roads of Yemen cities to improve a lot of things in that cities also to increase the month salary.
- [nothing].
- [nothing].

(9)
- On Yemen country do a big demonstration on its streets because the people there have a bad service and they want their month salary.
- And the good source of Yemen say the demonstrators
- [nothing].

(10)
- The demonstration to roads in the country of Yemen.
- [nothing].
- [nothing].

Concluding Remarks on Students' translations:

Most suggested translations in both groups proved overall neither accurate nor adequate – they suffer from a great number of linguistic errors as well as stylistic deficiencies, not to mention the strategic-related errors. However, focusing on the skills of pre-transferring adjustment, one would not hesitate to conclude that the translations suggested by students of group A are better than those suggested by students of group B. Most students of group

A intrinsically managed the original text lexically, syntactically and textually prior to embarking on the actual act of translating, in this way, relatively speaking, overcoming a number of difficulties and translating most of the text.

▶ *Pre-transferring adjustment at the lexical level:*
Words and expressions like

قامت (مظاهرة)، عنيفة، طاف، تردي، موثوق به، قوات الأمن، عدم اللجوء، امتثل، أثار، حفيظة، لجوء، زجّ

were intrinsically managed by most students of group A to be in line with their translation competence, as in

- There was a huge demonstration in the streets of many towns in Yemen to protest on bad services and demand increase the salaries.
- A huge demonstration filled streets of many towns in Yemen to protest against bad services and demand increase the salaries.
- but the demonstrators did not listen to the police and they throw stones to the police.
- As a result, the police men arrested some of the demonstrators and put them in the prison (for more examples, see group A)

▶ *Pre-transferring adjustment at the syntactic* level:
Structures like

- قامت مظاهرات عنيفة طافت شوارع العديد من مدن اليمن
- ولكن المتظاهرين لم يمتثلوا لنداء الشرطة
- الأمر الذي أثار حفيظة رجال الشرطة

were syntactically adjusted by most students of group A prior to embarking on the actual act of transferring, as in

- There was a huge demonstration in the streets of many towns in Yemen to protest on bad services and demand increase the salaries.
- but the demonstrators did not listen to the police and they throw stones to the police.

- but the protestors do not care of what the police said and they attacked the security.
- That made the police mad. (for more examples, see group A)

▶ *Pre-transferring adjustment at the textual* level:

Cohesive devices like

- احتجاجا على ... وكذلك للمطالبة بـ ....
- ولكن المتظاهرين لم يمتثلوا ... وقاموا بـ ...
- الأمر الذي ... وأدى إلى ...

were intrinsically managed by some students of group A to have them meet their translation competence, as in

- A big demonstration happened in many cities in Yemen to change the bad services and ..
- but the demonstrators did not listen to the police and they ...
- but the protestors do not care of what the police said and they attacked the security.
- That made the police mad.
- Because of that the police arrested some of the demonstrators. (for more examples, see group A)

Conclusion

In this article, the traditional methodologies of teaching translation that focus on text-typologies have been reviewed in an attempt to propose a comprehensive qualitative approach that involves a set of interdisciplinary skills with a view to improving the trainee translators' level.

Due primarily to the nature of the translation process itself, some extra skills and practice, comprising discourse analysis, revision, editing, documentation, text presentation, desktop publishing and the like need to be given to trainee translators. As such, special attention needs to be

paid to the minimalist approach, revision vs. editing and skills of pre-transferring adjustments. It has recommended that the proposed approach is activated when students have, or acquire through training, a good command in source- and target languages as well as developing a certain level of cultural competence.

In order to shift the focus of attention towards students, thus keeping the task of the teacher to a minimum, translator training programmes need to focus on improving the trainee translators' competences and skills, such as training them how to produce and select among the different versions they produce by themselves with justified confidence as quickly as they can (minimalist approach), adjust the original text semantically, syntactically and/or textually in a way that the ST supplely accommodates itself in the linguistic system of the TL (pre-transferring adjustment), and revise and edit others' translations. As the validity of the approach relies partially on teachers' competence and skills in teaching translation, it is strongly recommended that universities in the Arab world, need to recruit expert practitioners to teach translation. Expert practitioners can effectively contribute to the teaching of translation, alongside academics with a good grasp of the theoretical knowledge of the subject. This is because bilingual teachers, whatever communicative competence they have in both languages, cannot understand translation procedures and problems as well as understand what is expected from translators in realistic situations.

❖ References

Albir, A. H. and Alves, F. (2009). "Translation as a cognitive activity". In J. Munday (ed.) *The Routledge Companion to Translation Studies*. London/New York: Routledge.

Almanna, A. (2013). *Quality in the Translation of Narrative Fictional Texts from Arabic into English for the Purposes of Publication: Towards a Systematic Approach to (Self-) assessing the Translation Process*, unpublished Ph.D thesis: University of Durham.

Al-Rubai'i, A. (1996). *Translation Criticism: A Model for Assessing the Translation of Narrative Fictional Texts*. Unpublished Ph.D. Iraq: Al-Mustansiriya University.

Al-Qiniai, J. (2011a). "Training Tools for Translators and Interpreters", *JJMLL*, Vol. 3 (1), pp. 19-38.

As-Safi, A. and Ash-Sharifi, I (1997). "Naturalness in Literary Translation", *Babel*, Vol. 43 (1) pp. 60-75.

Belhaaj, A. E. (1998). *The Process of Translation*: *Factors, Tasks and Challenges*, Saudi Arabia: Umm Al-Qura University Press.

Bell, R. T. (1991). *Translation and Translating: Theory and Practice*. London/New York: Longman.

Chakhachiro, R. (2005). "Revision for Quality", *Perspectives Studies in Translatology*, Vol. 13 (3), pp. 225-238.

Chesterman, A. (2000). *Memes of Translation: The Spread of Ideas in Translation Theory***.** Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Dickins, J., Hervey, S. and Higgins, I. (2002). *Thinking Arabic Translation*, London/New York: Routledge.

Kelly, D. (2005). *A Handbook for Translator Trainers*, Manchester: St. Jerome.

Kingscott, G. (1995). "The impact of Technology and the Implications for Teaching". In C. Dollerup and V. Appel (eds.) *Teaching Translation and Interpreting 3 New Horizon*. Papers from the Third Language International Conference Elsinore, Denmark, pp. 293-300.

Kiraly, D. (2000). *A Social Constructivist Approach to Translator Education; Empowerment from Theory to Practice*. Manchester, UK & Northampton MA: St. Jerome Publishing.

Mossop, B. (2007). *Revising and Editing for Translators*. Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing.

Melis, M. N. and Albir, A. H. (2001). "Assessment in Translation Studies: Research Needs", *Meta*, Vol. 46 (2), pp. 272-287.

Olvera-Lobo, M. D. *et al* (2005). "Translator Training and Modern Market

Demands". *Perspective: Studies in Translatology*, Vol. 13 (2), pp. 132-134.
Pym, A. (2003). "Redefining Translation Competence in an Electronic Age: In Defence of a Minimalist Approach". *Meta*, Vol. 48 (4), pp. 481-497.
Thornbury, S. (2006). *An A-Z of ELT*. Oxford: Macmillan.
Ulrych, M. (1995). "Real-World Criteria in Translation Pedagogy". In C. Dollerup and V. Appel (eds.) *Teaching Translation and Interpreting 3 New Horizon*. Papers from the Third Language International Conference Elsinore, Denmark, pp. 252-259.
Venuti, L. (1998). *The Scandals of Translation*. London: Routledge.
Williams, J. and Chesterman, A. (2002). *The Map*. Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing.
Wilss, W. (1982). *The science of translation: Problems and Methods*. Tubingen: Gunter Narr.

Appendix (1):

Once You Start, It's Hard to Stop

Smoking is a hard habit to break because tobacco contains nicotine, which is highly addictive. Like heroin or other addictive drugs, the body and mind quickly become so used to the nicotine in cigarettes that a person needs to have it just to feel normal.

People start smoking for a variety of different reasons. Some think it looks cool. Others start because their family members or friends smoke. Statistics show that about 9 out of 10 tobacco users start before they're 18 years old. Most adults who started smoking in their teens never expected to become addicted. That's why people say it's just so much easier to not start smoking at all.

Appendix (2):

مظاهرات عارمة في اليمن

قامت مظاهرات عنيفة طافت شوارع العديد من مدن اليمن احتجاجا على تردي الخدمات وكذلك للمطالبة بزيادة رواتبهم الشهرية. وذكر مصدر موثوق به أن قوات الأمن طلبت من المتظاهرين عدم اللجوء إلى العنف، ولكن المتظاهرين لم يمتثلوا لنداء الشرطة وقاموا برمي رجال الأمن بالحجارة، الأمر الذي أثار حفيظة رجال الشرطة وأدى إلى لجوئهم إلى اعتقال بعض المتظاهرين وزجّهم في السجن.

Useful words:

demonstration = مظاهرة
salary = راتب
source = مصدر
violence = عنف
arrest = اعتقال

Semantic Alternation of Korean Case Markers ‘에e’ and ‘에게ege’, and ‘에서eseo’ and ‘에게서 egeseo’

Jungnam Kim・Yanghee Shim
(Kyung Hee Univ.・Portland State Univ.)

▌ABSTRACT ▌

In this paper, we maintain that case makers ‘에e’ and ‘에게ege’, and ‘에서eseo’ and ‘에게서egeseo’ are not two separate morphemes but are simply allomorphs of the same morphemes respectively. When ‘에e’ and ‘에게ege’ are used as a dative marker, they show exactly the same semantic function and are in complementary distribution in relation to the semantic features of their preceding noun; that is, if the preceding noun is an animate noun, ‘에게ege’ is used and ‘에e’ is used if not. Also, ‘에게서egeseo’ and ‘에서eseo’ as ablative and locative case makers show exactly the same semantic function and show complementary distribution depending on whether the preceding noun is animate or non-animate. Therefore, we assume that these markers are semantically conditioned allomorphs.

Key Words
Korean case markers, allomorph, complementary distribution, semantic sameness, semantic alternation
한국어 격표지, 이형태, 상보적 분포, 의미적 동질성, 의미론적 교체

1. Introduction

There has been the tendency of considering morphology and semantics as two distinct fields in the sense that one should be considered without referring to the other. It is because morphological analyses are believed to be processed without referring to the semantic environment of a morpheme for the majority of linguists. However, given the fact that the definition of morpheme is a minimal meaningful unit, there should be no morpheme that is a meaningless constituent, and thus, it is natural to provide a meaning to each morpheme and regard morphological processes in relation to the semantic interpretation of a morpheme.

In analyzing morphological processes, the paradigmatic relation of morphemes and their syntactic environments have been mostly considered while their semantic environments have been excluded. It was because the semantic interpretation was believed not to provide objective validity compared to its structural or distributional explanation due to the subjective view in semantic interpretations and the ambiguity of meaning boundary. However, the notions of subjectivity and ambiguity should not be the reason to absolutely exclude semantic environments in analyzing morphemes. Rather, we may subject to subjective interpretation if we consider grammatical factors only because grammatical items are more opaque than lexical items in the determination of morphemes. Therefore, we should not completely exclude semantic environment when we determine allomorphic relations.

There are two essential conditions determining whether two different morphemes are distinctive morphemes or allomorphs of the same morphemes: semantic sameness and complementary distribution. Both of these conditions must be satisfied in order for two morphemes to be considered as allomorphs of the same morphemes, and they should not be considered as two distinctive morphemes if they satisfy all of these two conditions.

There have been traditionally two types of morphemic alternations: phonologically conditioned ones and morphologically conditioned ones. Most of morphemic alternations in Korean are phonologically conditioned because phonological restrictions are mostly automatic and rule-governed. Thus, it is natural that phonologically conditioned alternations are the most popular examples of allomorphs although their semantic sameness is less emphasized.

However, even in such phonologically conditioned alternations, semantic sameness must be fulfilled in order for those pairs to be regarded as allomorphs. The units of such alternations in the analyses are not phones but morphemes, and those morphemes are not meaningless units. Thus, semantic sameness among the units must be established even though those units have abstract meanings.

In this study, we examine semantically conditioned allomorphs in Korean aside from well-known phonologically or morphologically conditioned allomorphs[1], and by doing this, we emphasize the importance of semantic sameness in determining whether two morphemes are allomorphs of the same morpheme or two distinctive morphemes. It is never enough to emphasize that semantic sameness is the most important factor to determine allomorphic relations especially when the alternations are not phonologically restricted.[2] Grammatical items are different from lexical items whose meanings are fixed in the sense that the meaning of grammatical items is determined depending on the context and thus flexible.

---

1) 고영근Ko, Young-Kun(2005:25) did not accept grammatically conditioned allomorphs in Korean by arguing following Mugdan(1986, 1993) that there are only three types of morphemic alternations that can be considered as allomorphs: allomorphic alternations based on phonemic, morphophonemic, and lexical conditions. The alternation of 'e/ege' in this study can be classified as lexically conditioned allomorphs since this alternation is based on the semantic features of the preceding nouns.

2) Although we emphasize the semantic sameness, we do not overlook the condition on complementary distribution of allomorphs, which will be further discussed in details in chapter 2.

With this much of a background, this study examines the relation of locality or dative case markers '에/에게e/ege' and of source or origination markers '에서/에게서eseo/egeseo.' These markers may not seem to be qualified as consideration of allomorphs at first because '에게ege' includes '에e' and '에게서egeseo' includes '에e' hence '에게ege' or '에게서egeseo' is hard to be seen as a single morpheme(에+게e+ge and 에+게+서e+ge+seo).

However, this study reveals that these markers need to be considered as a single morpheme by examining their historical origin and by approaching with a diachronic analysis. Furthermore, this paper shows that there are semantic sameness among these markers and are in complementary distribution and thus argues that they are allomorphs.

The advantage of taking this view is that we can establish a more systematic and rule-governed behavior among Korean case markers and thus reduce many grammatical errors that have been frequently observed from L2 learners of Korean as well as native speakers of Korean. Such grammatical errors frequently occurred because speakers often did not realize '에/에게e/ege' and '에서/에게서eseo/egeseo' alternations as allomorphs of the same morpheme.

Therefore, this study will contribute to enhance a more sophisticated theory of Korean morphology and will bring a practical advantage in language performance at the same time. We will also consider if these allomorphic relations can be a part of language universal characteristics.

2. Complementary Distribution of '에/에게e/ege' and '에서eseo' and '에게서egeseo'

The observation that '에e' and '에게ege' are in complementary distribution is traced back to 박양규Pak, Yang-Gyu(1975:99). Since then, similar observations have also been found in 이익섭 & 임홍빈Lee, Ik-Seop & Im, Hong-Bin(1983:151~156), 김원경Kim, Won-Gyeong(1997), 최호철

Choi Ho-Cheol et al.(1998), 이남순Lee Nam-Sun(1998), 이익섭 & 채완Lee, Ik-Seop & Chae, Wan(1999:54), and 성광수Sung, Gwang-Su(1999), etc. They all argue that '에e' and '에게ege' are in complementary distribution.

(1) 영희는 여동생{에게/*에} 물을 주었다.
Younghee-neun yeodongsaeng-{ege/*e} mul-eul juessda.
(Younghee gave water to her sister.)

(2) 영희는 꽃{에/*에게} 물을 주었다.
Younghee-neun kkoch-{e/*ege} mul-eul juessda.
(Younghee gave water to flowers.)

As we see in (1) & (2) above, '에e' and '에게ege' are in complementary distribution. Dative '에e' is not compatible with animate nouns and should be with non-animate nouns; on the other hand, '에게ege' comes with animate nouns only and is not compatible with non-animate nouns. This restriction is not limited to dative verbs like '주다give,' but is also applied to verbs such as '다가가다approach,' which is not a dative verb, as we see in (3) & (4) below.

(3) 영희는 여동생에게/*에 다가갔다.
Younghee-neun yeodongsang-ege/*e dagagassda.
(Younghee approached her sister.)

(4) 영희는 벤치에/*에게 다가갔다.
Younghee-neun bench-e/*ege dagagassda.
(Younghee approached a bench.)

Further, such relation of '에/에게e/ege' holds not only with those indirect objects but also with agents in passive sentences.

(5) 도둑이 경찰관에게/*에 잡혔다.
Dodug-i gyeongchalguan-{ege/*e} japhyessda.
(A burglar is caught by a policeman.)

(6) 도둑이 경찰 당국에/*에게 잡혔다.
Dodug-i gyeongchaldangguk-{e/*ege} japhyessda.
(A burglar is caught by the department of police.)

(7) a. 도둑이 경찰에게 잡혔다.
Dodug-i gyeongchal-ege japhyessda.
(A burglar is caught by the police.)

b. 도둑이 경찰에 잡혔다.
Dodug-i gyeongchal-e japhyessda.
(A burglar is caught by the police.)

In (5) & (6), when the agent is a person (animate noun) '에게ege' is used while '에e' is used when the agent is '경찰 당국a department of police'(non-animate-noun), but in (7), both '에e' and '에게ege' can be used because '경찰police' can mean either '경찰관a policeman' (animate noun) or '경찰 당국a department of policeman' (non-animate noun). '에게 ege' is used in (7a) when the agent is interpreted as a person while '에e' is used in (7b) since the agent is interpreted as the department.

We also see the same complementary distribution of '에/에게e/ege' in expressions including personification.

(8) a. 꽃들에게/*에 희망을!
Kkotdeul-{ege/*e} huimang-eul!
(Hope to flowers!)

b. 시(詩)에게/*에 전화 걸기
Si-{ege/*e} jeonwha geolgi
(Make a call to poem.)

In (8) '꽃들flowers' and '시poem' are non-animate nouns; nonetheless the use '에e'to these nouns is awkward, and the use of '에게ege' is more natural since these nouns are personified.

On the other hand, an animate noun '총리prime minister' has a marker '에e' in (9) below because '총리prime minister' is objectified in the

interpretation of (9).

(9) 대학생 부모들 모두 총리에 사죄해야.
Daehaksaeng bumodeul modu chongri-e sajoihaeya.
(The parents of college students should apologize to the prime minister.)

(9) is an excerpt from a newspaper, where '총리prime minister' is interpreted as a public administration rather than an individual; hence '에e' is used. We can also see a similar distribution with '에서eseo' and '에게서 egeseo' that are assumed as source or origination in (10) & (11). They show parallel complementary distribution relations with animate and non-animate nouns.

(10) 그는 문화부 장관에게서/*에서 상을 받았다.
Geu-neun munwhabu janggwan-{egeseo/*eseo} sang-eul badassda.
(He received a prize from the Minister of Culture.)

(11) 그는 문화부에서/*에게서 상을 받았다.
Geu-neun munwhabu-{eseo/*egeseo} sang-eul badassda.
(He received a prize from the Ministry of Culture.)

In (11), '문화부the Ministry of Culture' is not simply a place but the main body which offers the prize. Similar distributions with '에서/에게서 eseo/egeseo' can be easily found in many other sentences. See (12) & (13) below for more examples:

(12) 그는 훌륭한 부모에게서/*에서 태어났다.
Geu-neun hullyunghan bumo-{egeseo/*eseo}taeeonassda.
(He was born from great parents.)

(13) 그는 훌륭한 가문에서/*에게서 태어났다.
Geu-neun hullyunghan gamun-{eseo/*egeseo}taeeonassda.
(He was born from a great stock.)

(12) shows that animate nouns are combined with '에게서egeseo' but not with '에서eseo' while (13) shows that non-animate nouns are combined only with '에서eseo.' We see similar observations in (14) & (15).

(14) 그는 그녀에게서/*에서 옛 사랑의 그림자를 발견했다.
Geu-neun geunyeo-{egeseo/*eseo} yes sarang-ui geurimja-reul balgyeonhaessda.
(He found a shadow of the old love from her.)

(15) 그는 바닷가에서/*에게서 옛 사랑의 그림자를 발견했다.
Geu-neun badasga-{eseo/*egeseo} yes sarang-ui geurimja-reul balgyeonhaessda.
(He found a shadow of the old love from the beach.)

All of the above examples provide us a piece of argument that '에/에게 e/ege' and '에서/에게서eseo/egeseo' can be analyzed as allomorphs respectively.

김유범Kim Yu-Beom(2001:88) tried to extend such complementary relations to even particles and suffixes in general: Kim(2001:89) argued following 안병희Ahn Byeong-Hui(1968) that alternations of possessive markers 'ㅅs' and 'ᄋᆡ/의aui/ui' are due to the fact that they are allomorphs showing that they are in complementary distribution. Up to this point, we are in line with Kim's view. However, we are not with Kim(2001)'s extended assumption that interrogative suffixes and vocative case markers '하ha' are also explained under the same token. Vocative markers '하ha' and '아/야a/ya' as well as interrogative makers '-가-ga' / '-고-go,' and interrogative suffixes '-ㄴ가-nga' / '-ㄴ고-ngo' are not in complementary distributions respectively, thus, they should not be analyzed as allomorphs of the same morpheme.

(16) a. 大龍王아 <월석10:68a>, 大王아 <능엄2:4b>
Daeryongwang-a, Daewang-a
(Great dragon king!, Great king!)

b. 大王하 <월석21:192a>
Daewang-ha
(Great king!)

Unlike Kim(2001)'s analysis, the fact that '아a' and '하ha' can be combined with the same noun '왕wang(king)' clearly tells us that they are not in complementary distribution, and thus these markers are not allomorphs of the same morpheme.

The same is true with (17) below. Kim(2001:98) states that particle {-고/-가-go/-ga} and ending suffix {-잇고/-잇가-isgo/-isga} are allomorphs and that their distributions depend on the type of interrogatives: that is, '-고/-잇고-go/-isgo' is used when interrogatives are wh-questions, and '-가/-잇가-ga/-isga' is used when they are yes-no questions. However, Kim's assumption is not correct because in fact, they are not in complementary distribution.

In (17) '-고-go' and '-가-ga' tend to be combined with the same noun '일il(affair).'

(17) a. 부모 동ᄉᆡᆼ 니벼ᄅᆞᆫ ᄆᆞᄉᆞ 일고? <순천3:5>
Bumo dongsaeng nibyeoraun meusau il-go?
(What made the parents be separated from their sons?)
b. 찰방이 그더도록 귀코 빋ᄉᆞᆫ 일가? <순천4:7>
Chalbangi geudeodorog guiko bidsan il-ga?
(Is a station officer such a noble and valuable job?)

The suffixes of '-고-go/-가-ga' in (17a) & (17b) are not in complementary distribution but vary depending on the element preceding '일il(affair)': if a wh-word proceeds '일il(affair),' '-고-go' is attached ; otherwise, the other suffix '-가-ga' is used. Therefore, there seems to have a kind of agreement between a wh-word and its suffix. '-ㄴ가-nga' and '-ㄴ고-ngo' in (18a)-(18c) show the same alternation patterns.

(18) a. 널문인가? 므슴 문인고? <飜朴58a>
Neolmuninga? Meuseum mun-ingo?
(Is it a wooden board door? What kind of door is it?)
b. 므스 일인고 ᄒᆞ여 <小學5:112a>
Meuseu il-ingo hauyeo
((I) wonder what is happening)
c. 잇기 어려온 일인가 너기건마ᄂᆞᆫ <捷解初6:2a>
Isgi eoryeoon il-inga neogigeonmanaun
(Although it was considered to be a difficult affair…)

(18a) is another example in which either '-인가-inga' or '-인고-ingo' can be combined with the same noun '문mun(door).' (18b) & (18c) also show that either marker can be attached to the same noun '일il(affair)' showing that the alternation of '-인고-ingo' and '-인가-inga' is not restricted by a phonological condition. Thus, these suffixes are not in complementary distribution. We maintain that the alternation of '-인가-inga' and '-인고-ingo' should be explained by a kind of agreement or co-occurrence.: i.e. a wh-word like '무슴museum(what) or 무스museu(what)' is responsible for this alternation.

3. Semantic sameness of '에/에게e/ege' and '에서eseo' and '에게서egeseo'

In chapter 2, we have seen that '에/에게e/ege' and '에서/에게서eseo/egeseo' show complementary distribution, and further, we have distinguished allomorphic relations from other alternations by establishing the precise concept of complementary distribution. Now let us consider the semantic relationships between these morphemes since they are not regarded as allomorphs of the same morpheme if they do not share semantic sameness.

유현경Yu, Hyeon-Gyeong(2003) argued that there is a semantic difference

between '에e' and '에게ege.' As we see in (19a)-(19c) that Yu(2003:165) provided, lexical aspects of '주다juda(give)' are different in each sentence, and such difference comes from meaning difference of articles attached to a noun phrase. Yu(2003) argued that semantic features of dative objects determines the lexical aspect of a dative verb, '주다juda(give),' and this difference in the lexical aspect is attributed to the semantic difference between '에e' and '에게ege.' Therefore, Yu(2003) argued that '에/에게e/ege' lacks semantic sameness.

(19) a. 철수가 꽃에 물을 주는 중이다.
(Chulsoo is giving water to flowers.)
철수가 천천히 꽃에 물을 주었다.
(Chulsoo gave water to flowers slowly.)
철수가 한 시간 동안 꽃에 물을 주었다.
(Chulsoo has been giving water to flowers for an hour.)
철수가 한 시간 만에 꽃에 물을 주었다.
(Chulsoo gave water to flowers during an hour.)

b. 철수가 밭에 비료를 주는 중이다.
(Chulsoo is giving a fertilizer to fields.)
철수가 천천히 밭에 비료를 주었다.
(Chulsoo gave a fertilizer to fields slowly.)
철수가 한 시간 동안 밭에 비료를 주었다.
(Chulsoo has been giving a fertilizer to fields for an hour.)
철수가 한 시간 만에 밭에 비료를 주었다.
(Chulsoo gave a fertilizer to fields during an hour.)

c. ??철수가 영희에게 책을 주는 중이다.
(??Chulsoo is giving a book to Younghee.)
??철수가 천천히 영희에게 책을 주었다.
(??Chulsoo gave a book to Younghee slowly.)
??철수가 한 시간 동안 영희에게 책을 주었다.
(??Chulsoo has been giving a book to Younghee for an hour.)

??철수가 한 시간 만에 영희에게 책을 주었다.[3)]
(??Chulsoo gave a book to Younghee during an hour.)

The lexical aspect of dative verb '주다juda(give)' in (19a) & (19b) is 'completion,' and (19a) & (19b) are acceptable while (19c) is not acceptable because the lexical aspect of '주다juda(give)' is 'achievement.' However, such interpretation seems to be problematic because it is hard to accept the view that the same verb can have different lexical aspects depending on the preceding noun phrase. Rather, it is natural to assume that the same noun phrase can have different interpretations depending on the verb in a sentence, and even in Universal Grammar, it is generally believed that a verb governs argument but not vice versa.

(20) a. 철수가 영희에게 꽃을 주었다.
(Chulsoo gave flowers to Younghee.)
b. 철수가 영희에게 꽃을 받았다.
(Chulsoo received flowers from Younghee.)

In (20a) '영희에게to Younghee' receives a dative case from the verb '주다give,' but the same noun '영희에게from Younghee' gets 'source' or 'origination' case from the verb '받다receive'.[4)] Like this, verbs are generally assumed to assign a case to their arguments.

Further, it is still debatable if the verb '주다give' has only 'achievement' aspect in (19c) because the lexical aspect of '주다give' can also be interpreted as having 'completion.' The act of giving to someone does not usually require a lot of time; however, if we set up a situation in which books are being given to many people in an awarding ceremony, (19c) can be equally acceptable as much as (19a) & (19b). We can see this in (19d)

3) This is a quotation from examples (16') in Yu(2003).
4) Korean case marker '에게ege' is interpreted as 'to' or 'from' according to the thematic role that its governer, verb has.

below that was a modification of (19c). (19d) is the same as (19c) except that 'book' is replaced by 'baby formula,' and yet (19d) gets exactly the same interpretation as (19a).

(19) d. 철수가 아기에게 분유를 주는 중이다.
(Chulsoo is giving baby formula to a baby.)
철수가 천천히 아기에게 분유를 주었다.
(Chulsoo gave baby formula to a baby slowly.)
철수가 한 시간 동안 아기에게 분유를 주었다.
(Chulsoo has been giving baby formula to a baby for an hour.)
철수가 한 시간 만에 아기에게 분유를 주었다.
(Chulsoo gave baby formula to a baby during an hour.)

(19d) shows that the lexical aspect of '주다give' can be 'completion,' and this fact tells us that the semantic features of a noun such as 'animate/non-animate' cannot determine the lexical aspect of a verb. Let us reconsider examples of Yu(2003:166).

(21)[5] a. 철수가 꽃에 물을 주다가 말았다.
(Chulsoo was giving water to flowers and stopped.)
⇒ b. 철수가 꽃에 물을 주었다.
(Chulsoo gave water to flowers.)

(22) a. 철수가 밭에 비료를 주다가 말았다.
(Chulsoo was giving a fertilizer to fields and stopped.)
⇒ b. 철수가 밭에 비료를 주었다.
(Chulsoo gave a fertilizer to fields.)

(23) a. 철수가 영희에게 책을 주다가 말았다.
(Chulsoo was giving a book to Younghee and stopped.)
⇏ b. 철수가 영희에게 책을 주었다.
(Chulsoo gave a book to Younghee.)

5) These examples are (17), (18), and (19) of Yu(2003) respectively.

(21a) and (22a) implies (21b) and (22b) respectively while (23a) does not imply (23b). In other words, we find inclusive meaning relations in (21) & (22) but not in (23). This contrast between (23) and (21)-(22) should be due to the difference between ‘give a book/fertilizer’ and ‘give water’ and should not be attributed to the difference between ‘에e’ and ‘에게ege’ as in Yu(2003:166). The act of ‘giving’ is not generally occurred in an instant without continuation of action, and thus this difference is not due to the verb ‘주다give’ but due to an aspectual difference of the verb phrase containing its object. Yu(2003) also mentioned this point a bit. Yu(2003:167) stated that a predicative action for ‘books’ represents a single action because objects like ‘books’ are concrete and quantitative nouns; on the other hand, a predicative action for ‘water’ has both starting and ending points representing a sense of ‘completion of a process’ because ‘water’ is a non-countable, qualitative noun. And yet, Yu(2003) attributed this difference to the semantic difference of the markers attached to nouns, not to the semantic difference of nouns themselves. She should have verified this distinction not with material nouns like ‘물water’ but concrete nouns like ‘책book’. Yu(2003:169) also pointed out that ‘에e’-NP has a case role of ‘destination’ while ‘에게ege’-NP has a case role of a ‘beneficiary’, which has the features of having animate nouns and a voluntary action. However, if we consider (19d), it is hard to understand that a baby receiving formula has voluntary action of receiving, and we cannot come to the conclusion that ‘에게ege’ and ‘beneficiary’ are correlated concepts. As for expressions like ‘give water’ when we pour water into a cup or a glass and give it instantly to someone, we do not find an intrusion of a long process of giving but only a momentary action. In that situation, the act of ‘stop giving water’ implies ‘not giving water,’ and this difference cannot be traced back to the difference of ‘에e’ and ‘에게ege.’ If we replace the object of (23) with ‘분유baby formula’ as in (24) below, it becomes acceptable.

(24) a. 철수가 아기에게 분유를 주다가 말았다.
(Chulsoo was giving baby formula to a baby and stopped.)
b. 철수가 아기에게 분유를 주었다.
⇒ (Chulsoo gave baby formula to a baby.)

When we replace the object of '주다give' as in (24), we clearly see a semantic inclusive relation between (24a) & (24b). (24a) implies (24b) as in (21-22). This proves that the aspectual meanings of '주다give' are not differentiated depending on the semantic difference of '에/에게e/ege.'

The following examples also support evidence that a noun phrase does not determine the aspectual meaning of a verb, and rather, a verb determines the semantic case of a noun phrase and also a grammatical function of a case marker attached to a noun phrase. Consider following examples.

(25) a. 영희는 가수가 좋다.
(For Younghee, a singer is her favorite.)
b. 영희는 가수가 장래 희망이다.
(For Younghee, a singer is her future dream.)
c. 영희는 가수가 되었다.
(Younghee became a singer.)

In (25) noun phrase '가수가singer-ga' does not have a pre-determined case, and predicates like '좋다is favorite,' '장래 희망이다is her future dream,' or '되었다became' are not interpreted depending on '가수가singer-ga.' On the contrary, noun phrase '가수가singer-ga' is interpreted as object case, subject case, or complement depending on the following predicate. (26) also gives additional support to our view.

(26) a. 책이 책상 위에 있다.
(There is a book on the desk.)
b. 오늘 그 문제에 대해 말씀드리겠습니다.
(I will talk about the problem today.)
c. 밥에 떡에 케이크에 과자에 얼마나 많이 먹었는지 모르겠다.

(I don't know how much I ate including rice, rice cake, cake, and cookies, etc.)

d. 술에 술 탄 듯, 물에 물 탄 듯.
(As if we add liquor to liquor, and water to water.)

e. 또 다시 그 팀에 패할 수는 없다.
(We cannot lose again against that team.)

The same marker '에e' in each of (26a)-(26e) has a different interpretation on its semantic role, and this difference is traced back to a different predicate which gives a different semantic role to 'NP-e' in each of (26a)-(26e). Accordingly, '에e' marker is interpreted as having different grammatical role. Therefore, we should ban the false assumption that predicates are interpreted differently because maker '에e' inherently has distinctive meanings.

So far, we have argued against previous assumption that '에/에게e/ege' are basically different in meaning. However, our counter argument does not serve as a sufficient condition on the evidence that '에e' and '에게ege' are semantically same. Also, the external form of '에게ege' seems to be a combined form of '에e' and '게ge,' and this external form may lead us to a doubt that '에게ege' may have an additional meaning that is not included in '에e.' However, synchronically, '에게ege' is regarded as one morpheme that cannot be divided into '에e' and '게ge,' and thus '에게ege' should not be interpreted as a combined form of '에e' and '게ge.'

If we analyze '에게ege' with a diachronic approach, it is analyzed as '인/의+긔aui/ui+gui,' in which '긔gui' is originated from '그에geunge', and thus it is more reasonable to assume dative marker '에게ege' as a combined form of '에ㄱeg' and '에e' but not as a form of '에e' and '게ge.' In this analysis, dative marker '에e' attached to non-animate noun is interpreted as the same element of the last syllable of '에게ege,' '에e.' Then, how do we explain '인/의 긍aui/ui geung' which is considered as a historical precedence of '에게ege'? If this much of a difference is due to the difference of '에e' and '에게ege,' such a difference certainly

contributes the semantic difference between these two elements.

The existence of ‘ᄋᆡ/의 ᄀᆞᆼaui/ui geung’ can be problematic in concluding ‘에/에게e/ege’ as allomorphs of the same morpheme in two aspects. First, the existence of this element may force us to view ‘에게ege’ not to be a single morpheme. If ‘에게ege’ is not a single morpheme, we cannot move up any further step toward morphemic distinctiveness because allomorphic relations need to be considered among elements with semantic sameness. Second, when there is an additional element added to an existing morpheme, that additional element is believed to have its semantic content, and then, there should be no semantic sameness between the morpheme with additional element and the morpheme without such element.

The first problem can be solved by considering ‘에게ege’ as a single morpheme which cannot be further analyzed synchronically. For example, no linguist argues against that particle ‘서seo’ is a single morpheme although ‘서seo’ is historically descended from ‘이셔isyeo’ because ‘이셔isyeo’ is not analyzed as a combined form of stem ‘이시-isi-’ and ending ‘-어-eo.’ Other examples can be found in postposition ‘를leul’ and ‘는neun.’ Historically, ‘를leul’ is formed by ‘ㄹl’ added to ‘을eul,’ and ‘는neun’ is formed by ‘ㄴn’ added to ‘은eun,’ nonetheless, both are not regarded as combined forms. In the same vein, ‘에게ege’ should be considered to become an inseparable single morpheme.

Dative and locative cases were originally the same things, and yet it was hard to say animate nouns as the object of a dative case, and ‘‘무엇(ᄀᆞᆼ something(geung) of that animate noun” is named to be the object. A similar observation can be found in dative form ‘ᄋᆡ손ᄃᆡauisondaui’ in Middle Korean.

(27) a. 須達ᄋᆡ손ᄃᆡ 보내야ᄂᆞᆯ <釋詳6:15b>
 (Because (he) sends (something) to Sudatta, …)
 b. 王이 導師ᄋᆡ손ᄃᆡ 가샤 니ᄅᆞ샤ᄃᆡ <月釋22:35b>
 (The king went to a spiritual guide and said to him…)

In (27a) '須達sudal(Sudatta)' or '導師dosa(spiritual guide)' does not have a meaning of location where to or from where, but that '손son' represents a direct location. We can provide a parallel interpretation to '익/의 긍aui/ui geung' in the interpretation of '에게ege,' and this element is assumed to be developed into a case marker as one grammatical morpheme.

The second problem of the added semantic element no longer works because there does not exist independent meaning for the added element since the meaning of '익/의 긍aui/ui geung' becomes obsolete. Hence, there exist no semantic difference between '에게ege' and '에e' as a dative case marker. A similar explanation holds for '에서/에게서eseo/egeseo' alternations. Therefore, we argue that '에e' and '에게ege' which cannot be further analyzed synchronically should not be officially regarded as two distinct morphemes ; thus, they should be interpreted as allomorphs of the same morpheme that are in complementary distribution.

4. Conclusion

So far, case makers '에e' and '에게ege', and '에서eseo' and '에게서egeseo' are not two separate morphemes but are simply allomorphs of the same morphemes respectively. When '에e' and '에게ege' are used as a dative marker, they show exactly the same semantic function and are in complementary distribution in relation to the semantic features of their preceding noun ; that is, if the preceding noun is an animate noun, '에게ege' is used and '에e' is used if not. Also, '에게서egeseo' and '에서eseo' as ablative and locative case makers show exactly the same semantic function and show complementary distribution depending on whether the preceding noun is animate or non-animate. Therefore, we assume that these markers are semantically conditioned allomorphs.

These allomorphic relations are different from free variations which neither show complementary distribution nor semantic sameness, and also

different from alternations of interrogative marker '-가-ga/-고-go' and of interrogative suffix '-ㄴ가-nga/-ㄴ고-ngo' which show semantic sameness but not in complementary distribution. These markers should be analyzed as two distinctive markers or suffixes rather than allomorphs since they did not satisfy two essential conditions that allomorphs should fulfill.

In general, we can find the semantically conditioned allomorphs like '에/에게e/ege' and '에서eseo/에게서egeseo,' it is that, animate nouns are distinguished from non-animate nouns in relation to their grammatical function in Burushaski, Russian, etc. In Korean, animate nouns are treated differently from non-animate nouns in a sense that they are evaluated as a special or more important lexical category compared to non-animate nouns. For example, English verb 'take' is translated into two different lexical words '데려가다' for animate objects and '가져가다' for non-animate objects. The word for 'bring' shows similar behaviors, too. It is translated into '데려오다' or '가져오다' depending on whether the object is an animate noun or not. 'Load' is also expressed into two distinct lexical words in Korean depending on whether the object is a thing or a person, e.g. '(차에) 태우다' for animate objects and '(차에) 싣다' for un-animate objects.

However, we do not view this alternation as a unique phenomenon when we consider universal properties of world languages because each language has its own device in classifying groups of words either lexically or grammatically. English shows some important grammatical distinctions on qualitative vs. quantitative nouns and also countable vs. non-countable nouns. This is because in English. types of nouns are differentiated in a way they have an article or not, or plural makers or not. In European languages too, the gender of nouns shows an important categorical distinction since nominal suffixes vary depending on the gender. Now we just saw that each language has its own important factor in classifying lexical expressions, and this property seems to be language universal. This contrastive study on the behavior of Korean markers thus gives an important contribution on language typology and universality.

❖ References

고영근(1999), 국어형태론연구, 서울대학교출판부.(Ko, Young-Keun, *A study on Korean Morphology*, Seoul National University Press.)

고영근(2005), 형태소의 교체와 형태론의 범위 -형태음운론적 교체를 중심으로-, 국어학 46.(Ko, Young-Keun, A Study on Alternation of Morphemes and Domain of Morphology, *Journal of Korea Linguistics*, 46.)

김원경(1997), '에게'와 격, 한국어학의 이해와 전망, 박이정.(Kim Won-Gyeong, *'ege' and case, Understanding and a prospect of Korean Linguistics*, Pagijong Press.)

김유범(2001), 15세기 국어 문법형태소의 형태론과 음운론, 고려대학교 박사학위논문.(Kim, Yu-Beom, *Morphology and Phonology of the Grammatical Morphemes in the 15th Century Korean*, Korea University doctoral thesis.)

김정남(2005), '-답다, -롭다, -스럽다'의 분포와 의미, 한국어의미학 18.(Kim, Jung-Nam, The Distribution and Meaning of '-dabda', '-lobda', '-seureobda'. *Korean Semantics*, 18.)

박양규(1975), 소유와 소재, 국어학 3.(Pak, Yang-Gyu, Possession and position, *Journal of Korea Linguistics*, 3.)

성광수(1999), 격 표현과 조사의 의미, 월인.(Seong, Gwang-Su, *Case expression and the meaning of case markers*, Worin Press.)

안명철(1982), 처격 '에'의 의미, 관악어문연구 7.(Ahn, Myeong-Cheol, The meaning of locative 'e', *Journal of Language & Literature in Gwanak*, 7.)

안병희(1968), 중세국어의 속격어미 '-ㅅ'에 대하여, 이숭녕박사송수기념논총, 을유문화사.(Ahn, Byeong-Hui, About genitive ending '-s' in middle Korean, *Journal for commemorating Longevity of Doctor Lee Sung-Nyeong*, eulyumunwha co.)

유현경(2003), '주다' 구문에 나타나는 조사 '에게'와 '에', 한국어학 20.(Yu, Hyeon-Gyeong, Case marker 'ege' and 'e' in construction of 'juda(give)', *Journal of Korean Linguistics*, 20.)

이남순(1998), 격과 격표지, 월인.(Lee, Nam-Sun, *Case and case markers*, Worin Press.)

이익섭・임홍빈(1983), 국어문법론, 학연사.(Lee, Ik-Seop/Im, Hong-Bin, *Korean Grammar*, Hakyeonsa.)

이익섭・채완(1999), 국어문법론 강의, 학연사.(Lee, Ik-Seop/Chae, Wan, *Lecture of Korean Grammar*, Hakyeonsa.)

최호철 외(1998), 기계 번역을 위한 한국어 논항 체계 연구, 한국어의미학 3.(Choi, Ho-Cheol et al., A study on Korean argument system for mechanical translation, *Korean Semantics*, 3)

Aronoff, M.(1976), *Word Formation in Generative Gramma*r, Massachusetts: MIT

Press.
Bloomfield, L.(1933), *Language*, Allen and Unwin.
Crystal, D.(1980), *A First Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*, Andre Deutsch.
Harris, Z.(1942), "Morpheme Alternants in Linguistic Analysis," *Language* 18.
Haspelmath(2002), M., *Understanding Morphology*, Oxford University Press.
Hockett, C.(1947), "Problem of Morphemic Analysis," *Language* 23.
Mugdan(1986), "Was ist eigentlich ein Morpheme?," Zweischrift fuer Phonetik, *Sprachwissenschaft und Kommunikationsforschung* 39.
Mugdan(1993), Morphological units, Kasher(ed), *The encyclopedia of language and linguistics* 5, Pergamon Press.
Nida, E.(1949), *Morphology : the Descriptive Analysis of Word*, Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press.

『비교문화연구』 연구윤리 규정

제1장 총 칙

제1조(목 적) 본 규정은 경희대학교 비교문화연구소 ‘연구윤리위원회’의 구성 및 운영에 관한 사항을 규정함을 목적으로 한다.

제2조(적용대상) 본 규정은 경희대학교 비교문화연구소에 논문을 투고하는 모든 연구자를 적용대상으로 한다.

제3조(적용범위) 본 규정은 경희대학교 비교문화연구소와 관련된 모든 연구, 집필 활동을 적용 범위로 삼는다.

제4조(용어의 정의) 본 규정에 사용하는 용어의 정의는 다음과 같다.

① 연구 부정행위(이하 ”부정행위“라 한다)라 함은 연구의 제안, 연구의 수행, 연구결과의 보고 및 발표 등에서 행하여진 위조・변조・표절・부당한 논문저자 표시 행위 등을 말하며 다음 각 호와 같다.

1. “위조”는 존재하지 않는 데이터 또는 연구결과 등을 허위로 만들어 내는 행위를 말한다.
2. “변조”는 연구 재료・장비・과정 등을 인위적으로 조작하거나 데이터를 임의로 변형・삭제함으로써 연구 내용 또는 결과를 왜곡하는 행위를 말한다.
3. “표절”이라 함은 타인의 아이디어, 연구내용・결과 등을 정당한 승인 또는 인용 없이 도용하는 행위를 말한다.
4. “부당한 논문저자 표시”는 연구내용 또는 결과에 대하여 학술적 공헌 또는 기여를 한 사람에게 정당한 이유 없이 논문저자 자격을 부여하지 않거나, 학술적 공헌 또는 기여를 하지 않은 자에게 감사의 표시 또는 예우

등을 이유로 논문저자 자격을 부여하는 행위를 말한다.

5. 본인 또는 타인의 부정행위 혐의에 대한 조사를 고의로 방해하거나 제보자에게 위해를 가하는 행위
6. 기타 학계에서 통상적으로 용인되는 범위를 심각하게 벗어난 행위
7. 타인에게 상기의 부정행위를 행할 것을 제안・강요하거나 협박하는 행위

② "제보자"라 함은 부정행위를 인지한 사실 또는 관련 증거를 본 연구소에 알린 자를 말한다.

③ "피조사자"라 함은 제보 또는 본 연구소의 인지에 의하여 부정행위의 조사대상이 된 자 또는 조사 수행 과정에서 부정행위에 가담한 것으로 추정되어 조사의 대상이 된 자를 말하며, 조사과정에서의 참고인이나 증인은 이에 포함되지 아니한다.

④ "예비조사"라 함은 부정행위의 혐의에 대하여 공식적으로 조사할 필요가 있는지 여부를 결정하기 위한 절차를 말한다.

⑤ "본 조사"라 함은 부정행위의 혐의에 대한 사실 여부를 입증하기 위한 절차를 말한다.

⑥ "판정"이라 함은 조사결과를 확정하고 이를 제보자와 피조사자에게 문서로써 통보하는 절차를 말한다.

제2장 연구진실성 검증

제5조(부정행위 제보 및 접수)

① 제보자는 본 연구소에 구술・서면・전화・전자우편 등 가능한 모든 방법으로 제보할 수 있으며, 실명으로 제보함을 원칙으로 한다. 실명 제보자는 연구소 차원에서 보호한다. 단, 익명으로 제보할 경우, 구체적인 부정행위의 내용과 증거가 제출되어야 한다.

② 제보 내용이 허위인 줄 알았거나 알 수 있었음에도 불구하고 이를 신고한

제보자는 보호 대상에 포함되지 않는다.

제6조(예비조사의 기간 및 방법)

① 예비조사는 신고접수일로부터 15일 이내에 착수하고, 조사시작일로부터 30일 이내에 완료하며, 편집위원회의를 거쳐 연구소장의 승인을 받는다.

② 예비조사에서는 다음 각 호의 사항에 대한 검토를 실시한다.

1. 제보내용이 제4조제1항의 부정행위에 해당하는지 여부
2. 제보내용이 구체성과 명확성을 갖추어 본 조사를 실시할 필요성과 실익이 있는지 여부
3. 제보일이 시효기산일로부터 5년을 경과하였는지 여부

③ 예비조사는 편집위원 주도로 이루어지되, 필요한 경우 관련 전문가 또는 별도의 소위원회를 구성하여 조사를 의뢰할 수 있다.

제7조(예비조사 결과의 보고)

① 예비조사 결과는 연구소장의 승인을 받은 후 10일 이내에 피조사자와 제보자에게 문서로써 통보한다. 다만 제보자가 익명인 경우에는 그렇지 아니하다.

② 예비조사 결과보고서에는 다음 각 호의 내용이 포함되어야 한다.

1. 제보의 구체적인 내용
2. 조사의 대상이 된 부정행위 혐의 및 관련 연구과제
3. 본 조사 실시 여부 및 판단의 근거
4. 기타 관련 증거 자료

제8조(본 조사 착수 및 기간)

① 본 조사는 연구소장의 예비조사결과 승인 후 30일 이내에 착수되어야 하며, 이 기간 동안 본 조사 수행을 위한 위원회(이하 “조사위원회”라고 한다)를 구성하여야 한다.

② 본 조사는 판정을 포함하여 조사시작일로부터 90일 이내에 완료하도록 한다.

③ 조사위원회가 제2항의 기간 내에 조사를 완료할 수 없다고 판단될 경우 연구소장의 승인을 얻어 30일 한도 내에서 기간을 연장할 수 있다.

제9조(조사위원회의 구성)

① 조사위원회는 편집위원들을 포함하며, 총 구성원을 7인 이하로 정한다. 조사위원장은 조사위원가운데서 호선으로 한다.

② 당해 조사 사안과 이해갈등 관계가 있는 자는 조사위원회에 포함시키지 않는다.

제10조(출석 및 자료제출 요구)

① 조사위원회는 제보자・피조사자・증인 및 참고인에 대하여 진술을 위한 출석을 요구할 수 있으며, 이 경우 피조사자는 반드시 응하여야 한다.

② 조사위원회는 피조사자에게 자료의 제출을 요구할 수 있다.

제11조(제보자와 피조사자의 권리 보호 및 비밀엄수)

① 어떠한 경우에도 제보자의 신원을 직・간접적으로 노출시켜서는 아니 되며, 제보자의 성명은 반드시 필요한 경우가 아니면 제보자 보호 차원에서 조사 결과 보고서에 포함하지 아니 한다.

② 부정행위 여부에 대한 검증이 완료될 때까지 피조사자의 명예나 권리가 침해되지 않도록 주의하여야 하며, 무혐의로 판명된 피조사자의 명예회복을 위해 노력하여야 한다.

③ 제보・조사・심의・의결 및 건의조치 등 조사와 관련된 일체의 사항은 비밀로 하며, 다만 합당한 공개의 필요성이 있는 경우 연구소장의 승인을 거쳐 공개할 수 있다.

제12조(이의제기 및 변론의 권리 보장) 조사위원회는 제보자와 피조사자에게 의견진술, 이의제기 및 변론의 권리와 기회를 동등하게 보장하여야 하며, 관련 절차를 사전에 알려주어야 한다.

제13조(본조사 결과보고서의 제출)

① 조사위원회는 이의제기 또는 변론의 내용을 토대로 조사결과보고서(이하 "최종보고서"라 한다)를 작성하여 연구소장에게 제출한다.
② 최종 보고서에는 다음 각 호의 사항이 포함되어야 한다.
1. 제보 내용
2. 조사의 대상이 된 부정행위 혐의 및 관련 연구과제
3. 해당 연구과제에서의 피조사자의 역할과 혐의의 사실 여부
4. 관련 증거 및 증인
5. 조사결과에 대한 제보자와 피조사자의 이의제기 또는 변론 내용과 그에 대한 처리결과
6. 조사위원 명단

제14조(판정)
① 조사위원회는 연구소장의 승인을 받은 후 최종 보고서의 조사내용 및 결과를 확정하고 이를 제보자와 피조사자에게 통보한다.
② 조사내용 및 결과에 대한 합의가 이루어지지 않을 경우 표결로 결정할 수 있으며, 이 경우 재적위원 과반수 이상의 출석 및 출석위원 3분의 2이상의 찬성으로 의결한다.

제3장 검증 이후의 조치

제15조(결과에 대한 조치 및 기록의 공개)
① 부정행위가 확인된 논문에 대해서는 해당 학술지 논문 목록에서 삭제하고 이를 연구소 홈페이지를 통해 공지한다. 아울러 논문 투고자는 향후 3년간 논문 투고를 금지한다.
② 최종보고서는 판정이 끝난 이후에 공개할 수 있으나, 제보자・조사위원・증인・참고인・자문에 참여한 자의 명단 등 신원과 관련된 정보에 대해서는 당사자에게 불이익을 줄 가능성이 있을 경우 공개대상에서 제외할 수 있다.

부 칙

이 규정은 2007년 3월 1일부터 시행한다.

편집위원회 규정

제 1장 총 칙

제1조 본 위원회는 비교문화연구소 편집위원회라 칭한다.
제2조 본 위원회는 비교문화연구소 내에 둔다

제 2장 구 성

제3조 편집위원회는 편집위원장, 편집이사 및 편집위원들로 구성된다.
제4조 편집위원장은 연구소 소장이 임명한다. 임기는 연구소 임원의 임기와 같다.
제5조 편집위원은 편집위원장이 연구실적이 우수한 학회 회원 중에서 추천하며 회장이 상임이사회의 인준을 받아 임명한다. 임기는 원칙적으로 학회 임원의 임기와 같으나, 업무의 연속성을 고려하여 일부 연임할 수 있다.
제6조 편집위원회의 국제성 제고와 학제 간 학술교류를 증진함으로써 외국 문화 및 비교문화 관련 제반 분야의 연구를 활성화하기 위해, 해외 저명 학자나 유관 학회의 전문가를 제 5조와 동일한 절차에 의해 편집위원에 임명할 수 있다.
제7조 편집위원 중에서 1인을 편집이사로 임명하며, 편집이사는 투고안내 및 논문의 접수 등 실무를 담당한다.

제 3장 활 동

제8조 편집위원회는 연구소 학술지 『비교문화연구』의 체제와 발간, 회수, 분량 등을 결정하고 논문의 투고, 심사 및 게재에 관한 기준과 규정을 정한다.

제9조 편집위원회는 연구소 학술지 투고 논문의 심사위원을 선정하여 심사를 의뢰하고, 그 심사결과를 토대로 게재여부를 정한다.

제10조 연구소가 학회학술지 이외에 학술 서적 등의 간행물을 발행하는 경우에는 편집위원회 산하에 간행위원회를 둔다.

제11조 간행위원은 편집위원장이 편집위원 중에서 일정 수를 추천하며 상임이사회의 인준을 받아 연구소 소장이 임명한다. 간행위원장은 편집위원장이 겸한다.

제12조 논문의 투고, 심사 및 게재와 관련한 사항을 제외한 편집위원회의 제안 및 의결사항은 상임이사회의 의결을 거쳐 발효된다.

제 4장 회 의

제13조 편집위원회는 연구소 학술지 투고 논문의 심사 및 게재와 관련된 제반 사항의 심의를 위해 학술지 발행 시기에 맞춰 정기적으로 소집된다. 단, 연구소가 기타 학술관련 출판물을 발행할 경우에는 간행위원회를 필요에 따라 수시로 소집한다.

제14조 편집위원회는 편집위원장의 소집과 편집위원 과반수이상의 출석으로 이루어지며, 출석 위원 과반수이상의 찬성으로 의결한다.

제 5장 논문 심사 및 게재

제15조 편집위원회는 투고 논문이 도착하는 즉시 논문에 투고 일자와 접수 번호를 명기하고 필자에게 접수를 확인해 준다. 단, 연구소의 논문 투고 요령 및 논문 작성양식에 따라 작성되지 않은 논문은 접수하지 않고 반송한다.

제16조 학술지 투고 논문의 심사위원 선정 및 심사과정은 비공개로 진행 한다

제17조 편집위원회는 각 투고 논문에 대해 3인의 심사위원을 위촉하는 것을 원칙으로 한다. 단, 편집위원이 논문을 제출한 경우에는 특별한 사정이 없

는 한 해당 호의 심사위원으로 선정 될 수 없다.

제18조 편집위원회는 접수된 논문에 대해 심사의뢰서를 작성해, 심사용 논문을 심사서 양식과 함께 해당 심사 위원에게 전자우편으로 발송하며, 해당 심사위원은 심사결과를 지정된 기일 내에 편집위원장에게 전자우편으로 회신한다. 이 과정에서 심사의 공정성 유지를 위해 투고자 이름과 소속 및 논문에 대한 기타 정보가 알려지지 않도록 한다.

제19조 논문 심사 기준은 다음과 같이 정한다.

1) 연구주제의 독창성

2) 연구주제 전개과정의 논리성

3) 연구 방법의 타당성

4) 연구대상의 신뢰성(참고문헌, 주석, 인용, 번역)

5) 연구결과의 학문적 기여도

제20조 심사 결과는 세 명의 심사자의 점수 합이 (1) 240점 이상이면 게재 적합, (2) 210-239점이면 수정 후 게재 적합, (3) 180점-209점이면 수정 후 다음 호 재심사, (4) 179점 이하는 게재 부적합으로 나뉜다. (5) 편집위원회에서 위와 같은 심사 결과를 토대로 게재 심의 후 게재논문을 확정한다.

제21조 수정 요구사항이 있을 경우, 편집위원회는 심사평가서에 의거 투고자에게 수정 및 보완을 요구할 수 있다.

제22조 편집위원회는 투고자에게 심사결과를 전자우편으로 통보하며, 게재가 확정된 논문에 대해서는 수정된 논문의 최종 본을 제출하도록 요청한다.

제 6장 학술지 발행 및 논문의 관리

제23조 학술지는 1년에 4회 발행하며, 발행일은 3월30일, 6월 30일, 9월30일, 12월 30일로 한다.

제24조 '게재가'로 결정되거나 게재된 후에라도 타 학술지에 게재된 적이 있는

논문이거나 무단 도용한 논문이라는 사실이 밝혀질 경우에는 편집위원회의 의결에 따라 게재를 취소하고 향후 3년간 논문 제출을 제한한다.

제25조 게재 예정 증명서는 편집위원회가 게재를 확정한 논문에 한해 발급한다.

제26조 투고된 논문은 게재여부와 상관없이 반환하지 않으며, 게재논문에 대한 저작권은 연구소에 귀속된다. 따라서 게재 논문 전체 혹은 부분을 재 수록할 경우에는 사전에 연구소의 동의를 얻어야 한다.

부 칙

제1조 위 규정은 2009년 9월 1일자로 발효된다.

『비교문화연구』지 논문 기고 안내

『비교문화연구』는 경희대학교 비교문화연구소의 정기학술지로서 동서양의 문학과 어학을 위시하여 세계 각국 문화에 대한 비교 연구를 목적으로 매년 3월, 6월, 9월, 12월에 발간된다. 본지는 다음의 편집 규정에 따라 논문을 선정・게재한다.

1. 논문 투고 요령

1) 분야 : 동서양의 문학・어학・언어교육・문화를 위시하여 인문학 전반의 비교연구 논문 및 학술번역이나 서평

2) 연구논문은 다른 학술지에 게재되지 아니한 논문을 원칙으로 한다.

3) 투고된 논문은 게재여부와 상관없이 반환하지 않으며, 게재논문에 대한 저작권은 연구소에 귀속된다.

4) 학술지는 1년에 4회 발행하며, 발행일은 3월30일, 6월 30일, 9월30일, 12월 30일로 한다. 원고 마감일은 각각 2월 10일, 5월 10일, 8월 10일, 11월 10일이다.

5) 논문은 훈글(2005 이상)로 작성하여, 전자우편으로 투고한다.
- 비교문화연구소(031-201-2215)
  ccs1@khu.ac.kr (논문투고전용메일)

6) 원고 투고시 심사료 6만원을 납부하고, 게재 결정이 된 경우 게재료를 납부한다.
- 게재료: 일반논문-비전임5만원, 전임10만원/연구지원 받은 논문-20만원
- 심사료/게재료 납부하실 곳: 하나은행 906-910026-34905 김종수

2. 논문 편집 원칙

1) 논문은 훈글(2005 이상)로 작성한다. 논문은 한국어 또는 영어로 작성한다.
2) 글자모양 및 문단모양

(1) 본문 및 참고문헌
① 글자모양: 글꼴 바탕, 크기 10pt, 장평 100%, 자간 0
② 문단모양: 줄간격 160%, 들여쓰기 10pt

(2) 인용문
① 글자모양: 글꼴 바탕, 크기 9pt, 장평100%, 자간 0
② 문단모양: 줄간격 150%, 들여쓰기 10pt, 왼쪽여백 20pt, 오른쪽여백 20pt

(3) 각주
① 글자모양: 글꼴 바탕, 크기 9pt, 장평 100%, 자간 0
② 문단모양: 줄간격 130%

(4) 영문초록 (참고문헌 뒤에 위치. 초록 끝에 한국어와 영어로 5개의 주제어를 수록)
① 글자모양: 글꼴 Times New Roman, 크기 9pt, 장평 100%, 자간 0
② 문단모양: 줄간격 150%, 들여쓰기 10pt, 왼쪽여백 20pt, 오른쪽여백 20pt

(5) 제목
① 논문제목: 글꼴 바탕, 크기 16pt, 진하게, 중앙정렬
② 대제목: 글꼴 바탕, 크기 12pt, 진하게, 왼쪽정렬
③ 중제목: 글꼴 바탕, 크기 11pt, 진하게, 왼쪽정렬
④ 소제목: 글꼴 바탕, 크기 10pt, 진하게, 왼쪽정렬

⑤ 참고문헌: 글꼴 바탕, 크기 11pt, 진하게, 왼쪽정렬

3) 부호

- 한국어로 인쇄된 저서(단행본, 학위논문, 잡지, 논문집 등)는『~ ~ ~』로 표시한다.
- 한국어 논문집 또는 작품집 안에 실린 개별논문이나 개별작품은「~ ~ ~」로 표시한다.
- 외국어로 인쇄된 저서(단행본, 잡지, 논문집 등)는 이탤릭체로 표시한다.
- 외국어로 인쇄된 논문은"~ ~ ~"로 표시한다.
- 한국어와 외국어를 병기할 경우 한글 French 로 표시한다.

4) 참고문헌은 국문, 외국어 순으로 배열하고, 저자(성은 대문자, 이름은 소문자), 논문, 서적명, 역자명, 출판장소, 출판사, 발행연도 순으로 작성한다.

예) 레이먼 셀던,『현대문학이론』, 문학과지성사, 1991.
REAFORD, Aron, *Transformational Grammar: A First Course,* Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Cross-Cultural Studies
比較文化硏究所

446-701 경기도 용인시 기흥구 덕영대로 1732 경희대학교 외국어대학관 524호
☎: 031-201-2215 Fax: 031-205-2217 khwe2215@khu.ac.kr
【연구소장】 윤재학 ☎: 031-201-2254(硏) 010-2970-2254(M.P) jyoon@khu.ac.kr
【편집위원장】 박동호 ☎: 031-201-2260(硏) 010-2250-7984(M.P) pakdh@khu.ac.kr



안녕하십니까!

비교문화연구소의 학술지 『비교문화연구』 제37호의 원고를 다음과 같이 모집합니다. 투고의향이 있으신 분들께서는 아래 내용을 살펴보시고 옥고를 보내주시기 바랍니다. 『비교문화연구』는 한국연구재단 등재지로서 매년 3월, 6월, 9월(영문국제판), 12월 4회 발간하고 있습니다.

1. **발간예정일:** 2014년 12월 30일
2. **원고마감일** (37호): 2014년 11월 10일(DNJS)
3. **원고모집분야**
   (1) 『비교문화연구』의 원고는 동서양의 문학・어학・언어교육・문화를 위시하여 인문학 전반의 비교연구를 지향하는 학술지입니다.
   (2) 학술번역 및 서평도 투고하실 수 있습니다. 이에 관한 게재 결정은 편집위원회가 담당합니다.

4. **논문 투고 및 학술지 발간 관련 문의하실 곳**
   - 편집이사 : 김종수 (031-201-2259) smallis@khu.ac.kr
   - 편집간사 : 조유미 (031-201-2215)
     ccs1@khu.ac.kr (모든 원고는 이 메일로 보내주십시오)

5. **주의사항**
   (1) 원고를 투고하시는 분은 첨부해 드리는 우리 학회의 ‘학술지발간규정’ 및 ‘연구윤리규정’, ‘논문투고요령’을 숙지하시고 관련 내용을 준수해 주셔야 합니다.

(2) 원고를 투고하시는 분은 투고와 동시에 심사료 6만원을 납부하셔야 합니다. 심사료를 납부하지 않은 논문에 대해서는 심사 절차를 진행할 수 없음을 양해바랍니다.

(3) 게재 결정이 된 경우, 게재료를 납부하셔야 합니다.

- 게재료: 일반논문 - 비전임5만원, 전임10만원 /
  연구지원 받은 논문 - 20만원
- 심사료/게재료 납부하실 곳: 하나은행 906-910026-34905 김종수

2014년 9월 24일

비교문화연구소 편집위원회

비교문화연구

〈제36집〉

2014년 9월 27일 인쇄
2014년 9월 30일 발행
발행인 : 윤 재 학
발행처 : 경희대학교 비교문화연구소
인쇄처 : 도서출판 지금여기 ☎ 02) 2608-3143

〈非賣品〉